

**INSIDE: COLOMBIA'S
SAVAGE RIVER OF DEATH**



Maclean's

NOVEMBER 25, 1985

CANADA'S WEEKLY MAGAZINE

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The Star Wars Summit



**Ronald Wilson
Reagan**



**Mikhail
Sergeyevich
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COVER

The Star Wars summit

In the days leading up to the Geneva summit between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, the United States and the Soviet Union argued over Washington's controversial Strategic Defense Initiative. The bitterness of the contest underscored the gravity of the fundamental policy issues that are at stake. —Page 29

Long and short of the Strategic Defense Initiative: A year without the SDI would be a year without the SDI. —Page 30



Death under the volcano

In one of the worst such disasters ever, a sleeping volcano roared to life in Colombia, creating a massive avalanche of mud and debris that killed 20,000 people. —Page 34



A triumphant royal tour

Britain's Prince Charles and Diana, Princess of Wales, returned home last week after their whirlwind five-day tour of the United States as an ecstatic welcome. —Page 34



The new liberal spirit

Seventeen months after becoming Liberal leader, John Turner appears to have alienated critics within the party and won the rank and file's allegiance. —Page 34



A matagapher for freedom

In *White Nights* Michael Barrymore plays the role of a Soviet defector who finds love and shelter in the West. As such, the story parallels his own history. —Page 39

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The real Getty

Your article on Donald Getty ("Alberta's new chief," *Cover*, Oct. 28) states, "As Leaghead's intergovernmental affairs minister from 1971 to 1975, Getty was a firm 'Alberta-firster.'" In your interview with Getty on page 16 of the same issue he said, "Not Alberta first—Canada first." Which of these statements reflects the views of the real Donald Getty?

—KEN GILBERT,
Sunderbrough, Ont.

Many voices speak

Barbara Amiel's unrelenting notions of "racial purity" ("Canadians as endangered species," *Column*, Oct. 28) have no place in a national magazine. We're all hybrids in this world, and though many people do fit neatly into racial and cultural stereotypes, the evolving "human" part of our nature transcends all categories. Canis could best be at the leading edge of this transformation, accepting and integrating all progressive influences and achieving extended sustainability. To have the audacity to label people of Western European origin as "Canadians" is self-serving bigotry and arrogance of the lowest order. Amiel's thralled contempt for multiculturalism is just plain dumb. Indeed, cross-cultural and interracial marriages are a cause for general rejoicing, marking the strengthening of the common thread running through all humankind.

—GLAN DOOLIN,
Kitchener, Ont.

How nice to read an article that is generally, prochildren and anti-abortion.

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Donald Getty: Canada first

and clearly lays out what Canada could be like in the future as a result of our selfishness.

—PETER QUAIL,
St. George, Ont.

Barbara Amiel's usually fuzzy logic is positively opaque in her Oct. 28th column. We are now in the midst of a security boom, which she can verify by calling her local maternity ward.

—MARJORIE JACOBSON,
Toronto, Ont.

Clouded issues

We really shouldn't be surprised about "incompetence" in the *Ministry* government's health and agriculture policies ("Blood smoke signals," *National News*, Nov. 4). We've come to expect (accept?) the quick assertion/denial cycle from federal ministers. But even Conservative supporters must be wondering about the government's commitment to free enterprise. Despite declarations of faith in the virtues and disciplines of the market, the government has dedicated \$10 million tax-free to subvert it. Canadians are trying to express a clear message to tobacco farmers ("We don't want your product") but the government is determined to distort that signal. If the government is serious about the market and also about helping tobacco farmers to adjust, grants should encourage new crops for which there is a demand.

—PAUL HUNTER,
Toronto

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, *Maclean's* magazine, 4400 Steeles Ave. E., 7th floor, Scarborough, Ont. M1V 5T7.

PASSAGES

DIED: Philadelphia Flyers' star goaltender, Pelle Lindbergh, 36, as a result of crashing his 1985 Porsche sports car into a concrete wall in Somerdale, N.J., at Kennedy Memorial Hospital in Somerville, N.J. Lindbergh was declared brain dead shortly after the accident at 5:50 a.m. on Nov. 10. He was kept on a respirator while doctors performed a five-hour operation to remove his organs, following his parents' decision to donate them for transplant. He was declared officially dead after the respirator was disconnected. Blood tests showed that Lindbergh, a Swede who had a reputation for riding fast cars, had an alcohol level of .34 per cent, more than twice the .10 per cent defined as the intoxication level by New Jersey law.

AWARDED: Baseball's coveted Cy Young Award, to Steve Sabersham, 31, Kansas City Royals star pitcher in the American League, and Dwight Gooden, 25, who played the same role for the National League's New York Mets. When Sabersham's award was announced on Nov. 11, he was hailed as the youngest pitcher in history to win it. Two days later Gooden, who is seven months younger, took over that distinction and celebrated his 21st birthday on Nov. 16.

DIED: Henry Clifford Birks, 83, a grandson of the founder of the jewelry firm Henry Birks and Sons Ltd., and the company's former president and chairman in Montreal. Birks, who had been 15 since he suffered a stroke a year ago, joined the firm in 1915 as a salesman.

RECOVERING: Rock 'n' roll singer Jerry Lee Lewis, 58, from a close surgery which removed one-third of his stomach, at Methodist Hospital in Memphis. According to family members, Lewis had been given only a 50-50 chance of surviving, but he was reported in satisfactory condition after the four-hour operation.

DOES: To move star Candice Bergen, 38, and her husband of five years, film director Louis Luitke, a nine-pound, two-course girl named Chloe, by oceanview section in Los Angeles.

SENTENCED: Convicted spy Arthur Walker, 51, to life imprisonment, by Judge J. Calvert Clarke of the federal district court in Norfolk, Va. The prosecution and new evidence indicated that Walker, a retired navy lieutenant commander, started spying early in his 20-year military career and might have recruited his brother, John Walker Jr., 48, into espionage activities, instead of the other way around.

When you've got it, flute it.



Méthode Champenoise

A cause for the comics

On Nov. 28 the funny pages will be serious. Led by two Canadians, we'll salute the task-cartoonist Ben Wicks and his wife, Doreen, an aid worker—60 Canadian cartoonists will join 175 of their nationally syndicated U.S. colleagues in a day of cartooning devoted to famine relief. In cartoonists across North America, Dagwood will reduce the size of his sandwich from two armloads of food to one, the cook in *Beetle Bailey* will try to mail a turkey to Africa—Nov. 28 is U.S. Thanksgiving—and cartoon pages will appeal to readers to send money to famine relief. Wicks, 50, the Goddard transplant whose own work is among the best-known in Canada, and his wife of 38 years have spent six weeks organizing the Canadian end of the project. "The impact will be tremendous," said Wicks. "People will open the paper and see a whole page on the same theme. Mind you, it is not going to be a full page of tears and woe. Much of us will stick to his own format."

Wicks has been producing his spare,



Wicks: *Daughterless* and *Shankels*

bitingly funny stick drawings for more than two decades. He and Doreen, a former nurse, emigrated to Canada in 1957, arriving in Calgary with \$25 in cash. In the early years Wicks tried a number of jobs, including a five-year stint as a musician, playing clarinet in an armed forces band. "I felt so sorry for that guy," recalled Doreen. "But he had to get a job. I was pregnant." (The Wickses have three children: Vincent, 26, Susan, 25, and Kimberley, 15.) In 1961 Wicks, then a millman, decided to submit his drawings to potential markets. He started at the top—*The Saturday Evening Post*—and was accepted. Moving to Toronto in 1963 he syndicated his work, and his drawings now enchant readers of 145 North American newspapers.

As a result, Wicks was an obvious choice to lead the Canadian effort when American cartoonists decided to use their talents for famine relief. The project's U.S. organizers were Doonesbury's Garry Trudeau, *Peanuts* creator Charles Schulz and Milton Caniff, who draws *Steve Canyon*. And Doreen, 50, was equally experienced as a fund raiser. The founder and executive director of the three-year-old Global 50/50 Relief (Canada) Inc. (GRI), a non-governmental relief agency, she is the regular organizer of a wide and surprising assortment of events for world-

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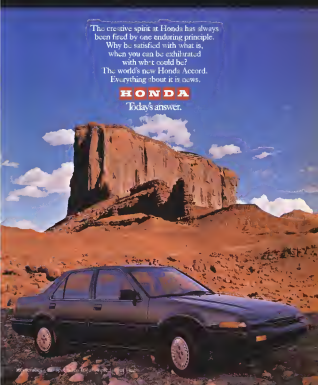
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wide distribution. Recently, Toronto's Princess Margaret Hospital gave her a newly new \$100,000 curiometer—a radiation machine for treating cancer of the cervix—which she sent to Lima, Peru.

The cartoonist's office is in downtown Toronto on the second floor of an old red-brick mansion on Jarvis Street. It is a large room, and sunlight pours in through its arched windows. Wicks works, standing up, at a drawing board in a corner. On one wall a huge blackboard still carries the schedule of an August trip through Uganda and Kenya. It was not his first visit to Africa. In February he had visited Ethiopia and trekked to a rebel camp in its war-torn secessionist province of Eritrea. "There were already 4,000 in the camp, and as far as the eye could see there were people coming, going blind, dying like flies," he said.

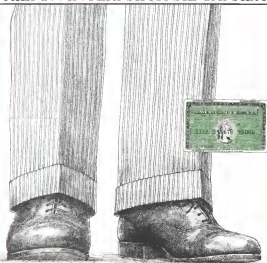
For the Nov. 28 project Wicks and Doreen have taken the original U.S. plan and Canadianized it. The Americans called for the artists' originals to be auctioned at a gala in Los Angeles, with the proceeds channelled to the high-profile U.S.A. for Africa organization. By contrast, GEM is trying to set up a travelling exhibition of the Canadian art and has arranged for donations to go to African Emergency Aid, an Ottawa-based umbrella organization. Said Doreen: "People are leaving the refugee camps now and returning to their homelands. They cannot go empty-handed. We want to buy them some, which cost \$150 each, and set up blacksmith shops to make tools for farmers. It will cost \$3,000 to build a forge, and we will pay blacksmiths to feed."

Collecting money and material from Canadians is a popular activity for the Wickses. A June appeal by poets in Toronto schoolchildren brought an avalanche of 40,000 new and used blankets for the victims of the African famine on cold desert nights. As well, employees donated their time at United Van Lines, which picked up the blankets from 1,200 different schools, at Cadet Cleaners of Toronto, which cleaned the 24,000 used blankets, and at Signode Canada Inc., which packed 25,000 blankets for shipment. The total value of those services is estimated at more than \$60,000.

One day last month Doreen went to visit Hecchiway's, a bar on Toronto's fashionable Yorkville Avenue. "I'm off to see if they will agree to throw a party for the people who helped us with the blankets," she explained. "Naturally, I will ask for a set table." Naturally, she got it.

—MATTHEW BART in Toronto

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WHERE THE WORLD IS AT HOME™

Crusade for tough crops

Sending in a drought-stricken rice paddy in Sri Lanka, development activist Patrick Mooney first learned of the threat facing the world's seed stocks. Mooney, a Brandon, Man.-based consultant, was visiting Sri Lanka in 1978 on behalf of the International Council for Development Action (ICDA), a Brussels-based coalition of relief organizations, when he heard a farmer talking about the disappearance of local strains of rice. Pointing to his parched rice paddy, the farmer claimed that "the old rice" could have withstood the drought better than the new imported high-yield variety which had been destroyed. But the Sri Lankan government had allowed traditional seed stocks to die out. Then, Mooney decided to help the developing world conserve its own agricultural gene pool. His activities have earned him controversy—and a Right Livelihood Award, known as the alternative Nobel Peace Prize, which the 38-year-old Mooney will receive on Dec. 9 in the Swedish Parliament.

For Mooney and the aid organiza-



Mooney concerned over the "gene drain"

tions that support his work through grants, the award is timely. This week the Rome-based Food and Agriculture Organization, the United Nations' agricultural arm, is expected to complete a sometimes-acrimonious debate on a Mooney program—sponsored at the risk in 1982 by the government of Mexico—to give more power to its new International Commission on Plant Gene Resources. Mooney wants the commission to be empowered to give developing nations funds and a share in plant gene research in order to preserve their own genetic resources. But Canada and the United States have so far refused to join the commission, although most nations support it.

The commission's main opponents are the agribusiness corporations located in the developed north. And its mandate to encourage the free exchange of seed stocks and research could destroy the near-monopoly which they currently enjoy in the costly, research-intensive business of cross-breeding, mass-producing and marketing seeds for crops. At present, the United States is one of the few countries that allows the agribusiness to patent the hybrid plants and seeds and genetically experiment with them. In Ottawa the Tories are expected to introduce seed patent legislation soon.

As well, Ottawa argues that the FAO's existing mechanisms already adequately support the exchange of research and that a more powerful commission could prove dangerous. Said William Broadbent, head of the seed division of Agriculture Canada: "If you politicize things, maybe a country out of favor could not get access to resources." But Mooney and his colleagues, North Carolina researcher Cary Fowler, with whom he will share the Right Livelihood Award, say that most of the sharing of resources in the past has been one-way. Indeed, Mooney says "the gene drain" often means that "the Third World donates genetic raw materials, which are then developed, patented and sold back."

A student activist with such organizations as INTERCO, he obtained an honorary position as the FAO's North American youth consultant. In 1979 he published his first book, *Seeds of the Earth: A Peasant or Public Resource?* Currently living in Brussels, Mooney continues to write reports and books. Critics, such as Broadbent, say that his books are "interesting reading but not particularly scientifically accurate." But criticism has never phased the man who placed seeds of concern about the Earth's bounty, and this fall he will reap some rewards for his efforts.

—PENNEY ROSE in Toronto

Q&A: PATRICIA CARNEY

A new Western power

Patricia Carney, a 36-year-old economist and former environmentalist, established a reputation for being a tough bargainer shortly after she arrived in Ottawa as the Conservative MP for Vancouver Centre in 1986. A single parent, with a son, John Patrick (J.P.), then 15, and a daughter, Jane, Carney recently fought to extend certain parliamentary privileges to children—including free airplane passes which once were reserved only for MPs and their spouses. Since her appointment 14 months ago as energy, mines and resources minister, she has enjoyed similar success in negotiating new energy agreements with the provinces, including the western and Atlantic provinces. Last month she announced a sweeping new energy policy that finally dismantled the National Energy Program of the previous Liberal government, including the elimination of Petroleum Incentives Program grants and the Petroleum and Gas Revenue Tax. At the same time, she ended a decade-long struggle over natural gas pricing by signing an agreement with three western producer provinces to deregulate their markets. Maclean's Ottawa staff correspondent Rhonda Macbride recently interviewed Carney in her Parliament Hill office.

Maclean's: Do Westerners still feel that they are losing to the East?

Carney: Certainly to a far less degree now than when the Liberals were in power, because they have cabinet ministers from the West and are getting decisions that benefit the West. Since the West has been a Conservative stronghold, some people expected preferential treatment and are upset that they are not getting it. But a federal cabinet minister has to take a national view. **Maclean's:** How will your energy policy benefit the oil industry?

Carney: We have radically revamped energy policy. Deregulation has opened up markets, removing the Petroleum and Gas Revenue Tax has improved the cash flows. Those are the two things companies need in order to job in the energy industry—access to markets and money to invest. At the same time, we have brought in an efficient frontier policy which is clear, simplified and has a level of incentive targeted to create just about \$1 billion a year in frontier activity.

Maclean's: Critics say that you give too much money to industry in terms of revenues in both the western and Atlantic provinces.



Carney: using energy to unify

Carney: Well, it is not true. The Prime Minister told my cabinet colleagues that he had never met any one into such a hostile environment as me. What the western and Atlantic provinces did was to utilize energy to unify the country by creating the resource the same offshore as it was treated on land and by having consultation with and participation from the provinces. And if giving away the shop means including Newfoundland in Confederation, I am happy to do it. People forget the total benefit that existed in the region—the inexpressible miracle. Things are peaceful now. **Maclean's:** Some charge that your policies encourage the international oil and coal and gas industry plants to flourish, not small Canadian companies.

Carney: There is no doubt that some of the small companies that were set up only as vehicles to get Petroleum Incentives Program grants are going to feel squeezed. We are telling them that they will have to be as innovative in adapting to our regime as they were in adapting to the last. In those companies which are in the business of drilling for oil, and not for government grants, the regime will be much, much better. **Maclean's:** In negotiating, you took advantage of circumstances such as Lougheed's resignation as premier of Alberta and the security Liberal gov-

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ment in Ottawa. Is your success really local?

Corney: All the energy negotiations that we have done have been very tough and were fought on substantive not political issues. The natural gas agreement had to be fair to consumers and producers. And the Atlantic agreement had to make Newfoundland *just* equal. Our western agreement was aimed at negotiating a healthy industry under terms of fiscal restraint and removing irritants in the Liberals' NDP which alienated Westerners. So, if you say that psychology played a part, I would not disagree. **McLean's:** Columnar editor Peter Kaplan described you as having a wild, saucer temper.

Corney: I do not think I have a wild and insane temper—even Potheringham, when I have since kidnapped, admits that. The last he wrote about me referred to the 'peaceful' and some Miss Carkey. I have an Irish temperament, very much like the Prime Minister's—that is why we get on so well. I never get mad about the big things. But I have a low boiling point for small irritations. To do the kind of searching, penetrating, someone that I have been involved in over the past year takes a temperament of stainless steel.

McLean's: Cabinet members have been criticized for being this-skewed. Has your career as a journalist helped you recognize government hypocrisy?

Corney: What I recognize most is sheer ignorance. But because I was a journalist, things roll off my back that piece the skin of some of my colleagues.

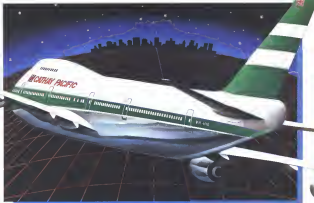
McLean's: Were your early days in Ottawa tough?

Corney: Yes. That was when I was trying to adapt the moon-covered regulations to single-parent family requirements. I commuted every week for four years because J.P. did not want to live in Ottawa. Politics is rough on families. **McLean's:** That last summer you shared a house in Ottawa with Finance Minister Barbara McDougall. Was that a useful experience?

Corney: You cannot go home and talk about cabinet to your spouse or your friends. But it was a lot of fun to sit in our bathrobe and have a stretch and discuss what went on in cabinet. It allows a networking that has been missing in the past for women in politics. But now Barbara has her own place.

McLean's: Is there a second agenda that you must fill by virtue of being a woman?

Corney: What I have always done is advance women. If I find a bright woman, wherever she is in the bureaucracy, I will pull her right up to the forefront because it is the only way to make her visible. I do that without shame. I certainly has experience bureaucratic lines of authority, but I do it anyway. ☐



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CLOSE-UP: RAYMOND GARNEAU

A fighter in the House

Hanging in a place of honor is Raymond Garneau's cramped office on Parliament Hill, the photograph is one of the first things that visitors notice. It shows the Quebec MP in an earlier career as a smiling and youthful minister of finance in the Quebec Liberal government of Robert Bourassa. Taken minutes before Garneau was to deliver the 1984 provincial budget, the picture is a graphic reminder that the 39-year-old Garneau is more than an Ottawa freshman, but one of only 40 Liberals who narrowly defeated the Tories last year in the last federal election. He is also a veteran Quebec politician, a native provincial leadership contender and the respected former president of the Montreal City and District Savings Bank. His current job as associate finance critic in the Liberal opposition could be termed the low point, rather than the summit, of his career.

Garneau himself acknowledges that he had an ambivalent reaction to his return to politics. "I felt terrible after the election," he said. In order to accept John Turner's call to run for the federal Liberals in Laval-des-Rapides riding last year, Garneau gave up an annual bank salary of more than \$200,000, a dozen corporate directorships and a chauffeur-driven limousine. But Garneau's early doubts appear to have subsided, and he is emerging as one of the most influential and articulate members of the opposition. Although his own intense sense of loyalty to Turner makes him reluctant to discuss the possibility, since Quebec has privately told him as a possible future leader of the party.

Last spring Garneau attacked the government for measures that he accurately predicted would be in the May budget. In a speech delivered to a business group in the Bahamas eight days before the budget was made public, Garneau drew on careful research and his own experience as a finance minister to predict accurately that Wilson would abandon attempts to reduce the deficit quickly and, instead, introduce painful measures with long-term, difficult-to-understand tactics such as pension and tax-break de-indexation. He was able to demonstrate the long-term effects of the Wilson budget on Canadian incomes, including the impact of de-indexing senior citizens' pensions, which helped rally their campaign (in June 87) the Mulroney government cancelled that measure. Said Liberal S-

enator critic Don Johnston: "Raymond has been a shot in the arm to this caucus."

The banking crisis during the summer gave Garneau fresh ammunition for the fall sitting of Parliament. Almost daily he has questioned Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Minister of State for Finance Barbara McDougall and Finance Minister Michael Wilson over the collapse of two western banks.

Garneau is also using some of the tactics that he learned in the tough world of Quebec provincial politics. Said his legislative assistant, Frances McGuire: "He can get furious when people waste his time." Garneau walked out of an Oct. 31 legislative finance committee hearing when the co-sponsor for the Northland Bank, James Morrison, refused to provide confidential figures on the bank's debt.

Clearly, the nine-year veteran of the Quebec national assembly is increasingly at ease with the demands of his new life in Ottawa. Declared Pierre Berton, a senior Quebec Liberal and longtime Garneau associate: "I would

be very surprised if Raymond decided to return to the private sector."

Garneau's family background presents a sharp contrast to his present prominence. He was born in a farming family in the small Quebec town of Plattsville, 156 km northeast of Montreal. A brilliant student, he won degrees in commerce and economics from Laval and the University of Quebec respectively. After he returned to Canada the Quebec Liberals quickly drafted him into service, he worked first as an employee of the Quebec Liberal party and then, in 1965, as an assistant in the office of Liberal Premier Jean Lesage. In 1970 he was elected to the Quebec national assembly and three years later, at the age of 28, he was named Quebec's finance minister. That position was later earned him the title of provincial political circles of "le Dauphin" (the crown prince)—the man certain to replace then-Liberal leader Robert Bourassa, who resigned after the Parti Quebecois election victory in 1978.

The only serious hint of dissent in Garneau's background was his rumored involvement in a Quebec Liquor Corp. scandal, which first broke in 1975. Some politicians were allegedly taking political contributions in return for giving distillers and liquor distributors special favors. In a major police inquiry in 1977 Garneau was completely

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ly pleased of any wrongdoing. Still, the following year he lost to Claude Ryan in his attempt to win the leadership of the provincial Liberals.

There are striking parallels between Garsneau's bitter experience with the provincial wing of the party and Jean Chretien's later failure to beat John Turner for the federal Liberal leadership. Like Chretien, Garsneau was a popular politician and party man when the party establishment showed aside. In Garsneau's case, party insiders estimated that Ryan, the cerebral publisher of Montreal's newspaper *Le Devoir*, stood a better chance of winning the 1986 referendum struggle and the election that would follow.

Garsneau tallied only 887 votes against the party outsider's 1,748 at the convention. Ryan then added to the injury by giving an unapologetic victory speech in which he pointedly gave credit that Garsneau's participation was not wanted. Within eight months Garsneau resigned as the MP for Jean-Talbot and, it appeared, from political life. Said Montreal Liberal insider, lawyer James Robb: "Garsneau took a beating from Ryan's people that he did not deserve."

During his three-year tenure as president of the Montreal City & District Bank, the financial institution registered a strong increase in stock prices, and Garsneau's reputation in Montreal business circles rose proportionately. The new job also left him more time to devote to his family. His wife of 25 years, Pauline, his daughter, Veronique, now 21, and son Jean-François, now 24.

But friends and former colleagues viewed that shift from provincial politics into the corporate world as an aberration brought about only by the bitter leadership battle of 1978. Said Blusson: "He is a politician by nature, and I was not surprised when he left that it would be forever." Indeed, in the early summer of 1984 Turner and other senior Liberals from Ottawa began pressing him to return to politics and run in the federal election. "At first I refused them all," said Garsneau. "Because I was enjoying myself, and it is hard to part a job like that."

Those close to him also say that his wife was reluctant to see him become involved politically again. But Turner, who knew Garsneau well from the days when he was the federal finance minister, finally prevailed. Said Garsneau: "Turner convinced me that with as many senior people like Pierre Trudeau and Marc Lalonde leaving federal politics, it was my duty as a francophone to run."

Garsneau faced a tough fight for his Montreal area constituency against a star Tory candidate, Lawrence Mac-



Garsneau: 'It's about the new to succeed'

gin, the former chairman of the Montreal Urban Community Transit Commission. Late in the summer campaign, when the Liberals appeared certain to lose badly, he attacked the Conservatives in a speech which Mulroney still reminds him of: he accused the Tories of being anti-Catholic, anti-French "Groupism" whom Quebecers could not trust.

Still, many of those who work closely with Garsneau told *Weekend* that the speech was out of character: his personal style is usually cautious and precise. Said legislative assistant McQuinn: "Garsneau is extremely concerned with his personal credibility, inside the House and out."

He acknowledges that he would prefer to be on the other side of the House—"answering the questions rather than asking them." But for now he claims to be content with his 18-hour days as the MP for Laval, relaxing on weekday evenings in a small downtown Ottawa apartment with his wife and some classical music and historical books. On weekends he drives to his home and family in Montreal. Said Blusson: "How unhappy can you be when you are in the business you prefer to be for the moment do not have exactly the job you might want?"

—MICHAEL BOSS in Ottawa



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DATeline: NEW CALEDONIA

French Eden in trouble

It has been called the Paris of the Pacific. Its broad avenues are congested with French Citroëns and Peugeot cars, driven slowly and fast. Residents linger in outdoor cafés, and tangle tourists slip Perrier on the beach between the Club Med Hotel and the new 1000 Rut Nouméa (population 65,000), capital of the French territory of New Caledonia, in only 700 miles from Australia—halfway around the world from Paris. Now, the tropical paradise is seething with anger. Governed by France for 124 years, the right-wing territory is undergoing political unrest which is reverberating 13,000 miles away, in the corridors of the French government.

During the past decade New Caledonia's 64,000-strong native Melanesian population, known as Kanaks, have formed a powerful independence movement. Last September the militant independence party, the Front de Libération National Kanak Souverainiste (FLNKS), won a majority of seats in three of the territory's four regional assemblies. Still, they do not control the national assembly, which is subject to French authority. Said the elected front leader, former Roman Catholic seminarian and historian Jean-Marie Tjibaou, "Independence is now an inevitable step in the Caledonian consciousness."

But France could lose more than a colonial territory. The area, rich in the strategic metal nickel, is the now-economist world's second-largest exporter of the metal after Canada. In addition, an independent Kanak state led by the front would likely demand that France shut down its four military bases now located there.

As well, self-government could encourage the growing independence movement in nearby French Polynesia, site of the controversial French nuclear test program in the South Pacific. And like other Pacific governments, New Caledonia led by the front would oppose France's nuclear testing in the area—a policy that Paris finds difficult to defend after a major controversy when French agents boarded the anti-nuclear Greenpeace ship the *Rainbow Warrior* four months ago.

The independence movement is weakened by the fact that the Kanaks are a minority in their own country. They make up approximately 42 per cent of the total population of 146,000, about the same as the white French settlers. But thousands of foreign

workers, mostly from the former French colonies of Indochina and Vietnam, who went to the island during the hectic hours of the 1960s and early 1970s, have upset the demographic balance. And they are an adversely pro-French as the whites are.

As a result, despite the strong showing by the front in the rural areas, 81 per cent of the overall vote in the recent regional elections was shared among anti-France parties, chief of which is the right-wing Rassemblement pour la Calédonie (Rassemblement pour la Calédonie) led by Raphaël-Édouard Saut. Yves Magerat, an FLNKS moderate, "The FLNKS is racist. They want independence for the blacks only. If a minority should be given power there would be civil war."

When white settlers gather in the bar of Nouméa's Hotel Calédonie, they say that they wholeheartedly support France's nuclear testing program in the region. Indeed, behind the hotel reception desk are three prominently displayed, enlarged framed color photographs of the above-ground nuclear explosions of the early 1970s on the French Polynesian island of Mururoa. Whiles say that there are benefits in being a territory of France. Until 1880 they paid no income tax. Many earn comfortable incomes from cattle farms or mining the nickel that makes up 96 per cent of New Caledonia's total ex-



The front's Tjibaou: 'Independence'

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port revenues. Forty per cent of New Caledonian government spending is funded by the French government, in effect subsidizing middle-class standards of French life in the islands. Said SPON regional and national assembly member Charles Laviar, a prominent Nouméa businessman: "When the French arrived here, the Melanesians were cannibals, always fighting each other. Now the quality of roads, hospitals and schools is superior to other countries in the region. It is in the interests of Kanaks, and the result, that France remains here."

Despite the sophistication of French culture and institutions, the Kanaks have never accepted white domination. The islands were first discovered in 1774 by the English explorer Capt. James Cook, who named the largest island New Caledonia because its rugged hills reminded him of the coast of Scotland. Almost a century later, after a handful of French missionaries and sealers had arrived, the crew of the French survey ship *Albatros* was massacred by the islanders, local history texts say. But the sailors were eaten by cannibal natives. That massacre spurred France to annex the islands, both to protect the Frenchmen living there and to use it as a penal colony.

As settlers arrived throughout the late 19th century, they displaced the natives from their fishing and farming communities along the coast and built large, prosperous farms in the plains between the sea and the mountains. Then, in 1883 settlers discovered the colony's vast nickel deposits. The Kanaks staged several revolts in protest but they suffered a decisive loss in 1893, when French artillery killed 2,000 tribesmen led by Ata, a Kanak chief.

French mining companies swiftly moved in and displaced the Kanaks, placing them in reservation-style designated regions in the mountainous interior. The native islanders now live chiefly in the inland rural areas and still work as laborers in mining, public services and agriculture. Said Guy Tameunui, a Kanak musician who writes and records songs for the independence movement: "The whites must realize that it is time to return what they have to the Kanaks. But they find it hard to give up."

Indeed, the Socialist government of François Mitterrand has often shifted policies on the issue. In 1983 the government announced that it recognized "the innate and active right" of the Kanaks to self-government. Then, last summer Paris announced that it would postpone an independence referendum until 1997. But recent moves may soften that blow. Paris intends to strengthen the regional governments



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and launch land reforms to give the Kanaks more economic equality with whites.

These reforms come on the heels of a year-long spate of violence, ballot-box burnings and revenge killings between Kanaks and white settlers which have claimed more than 30 lives. Tannock Girard, a fifth-generation French settler who is the manager of Nouméa's *Le Café de Paris*, said, "I never thought New Caledonia could be like this. The Kanaks have become aggressive. They attack you, even kill you, for no reason."

But the issues are clear to the Kanaks. Allocated by a Paris-own state school system that makes few concessions to Melanesian culture and language, Kanaks find it difficult to succeed in the modern world that the French have imposed on them. They watch French television programs and grow each other with kisses on both cheeks in the French style but they subsist on an income one-fifth that of the white settlers. Currently, radical Kanaks are successfully working to attract native students to their own schools, which teach local languages,

history and agricultural skills.

Ironically, Kanak young people can be seen practicing traditional war dances on the paved parking lots of their concrete apartment blocks. Although the front declares that it will continue to seek independence through democratic channels, it has recently sent 17 men to Libya for a course in guerrilla warfare. Said 44-year-old teacher Pringuine Mathere, whose brother was shot dead in a skirmish with French soldiers earlier this year: "We do not want France deciding for us anymore."

The town of St. Philippe, a cluster of board and sheet-metal houses 90 km north of Nouméa, is a stronghold of the independence movement. Painted as many of the walls and doors in the red, green, blue, yellow and black flag of Kanaky—the name Kanaks would give to an independent New Caledonia. Recently, St. Philippe was the scene of several violent confrontations between residents and police. The charred remains of the stores and homes of white settlers who have also fled to Nouméa stand in local streets. Passers-by said Wilfrid Nounou, 33, a St. Philippe auto mechanic: "I will fight to get my country back." He says that he counts himself an independence fighter in the classic tradition. He sleeps, sparsely furnished bedroom features posters of the late Jamaican radical reggae singer Bob Marley, Cuban guerrilla leader Che Guevara and Bobby Sands, the jailed IRA gunman who died in a hunger strike in Northern Ireland. "I am not afraid to die," added the militant Nounou. The community is so hostile that French politicians were evicted there last August when making a tour of the community.

For their part, the white settlers are awaiting the outcome of France's national elections in March. At that time the Socialists are expected to lose their majority. And Jacques Chirac, leader of the right-wing opposition Rassemblement pour la République, has pledged, if elected, that the islands will not become independent until a majority want it—including the whites.

But some whites, including those who oppose New Caledonia's independence, concede that such a course could lead to further violence in preparation, while extremists have been stockpiling guns and dynamite. Said Jacques Boudard, one of the few white members of the front: "In the past the Kanaks have given their hand to the whites and the whites have not taken it. I am very pessimistic about the future of New Caledonia."

—ERIC LARD PERRYER in Nouméa with
MARGUERITE COGNET in Paris



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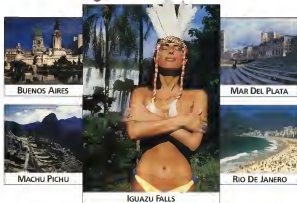


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COLUMN

Nagging a little paper that grew

By Barbara Amiel

The tabloid newspaper *The Toronto Sun* has never been popular with anyone but its readers. And a lot of its readers pretend they never see the paper except by accident. Those who admit to reading it are working-class people or lawbreakers.

During the time I was editor of *The Toronto Sun*—I continue to be its associate editor—I became used to having readers approach me to talk about a column in the *Sun* that they had "read while at the dentist's office" or "on my secretary's desk." People felt constrained to explain how it happened that they came to be reading our paper.

I soon realized that this was an integrating form of social mockery. *The Toronto Sun* is a tabloid that is regarded as lower-class, and people of intellectual pretensions feel a need to dissociate themselves from it. This is especially intriguing because many of the *Sun's* regular writers have impeccable intellectual credentials: the American columnist William F. Buckley Jr., the erudite British journalist John O'Sullivan, and such Canadian writers as Eric Margolis, George Jonas, Walter Stewart.

The great claim against *The Toronto Sun* has always been that its news coverage is too broad or too shallow. The people who made the complaint were generally those for whom television news was the major source of information or people who read *The Globe and Mail*, where corrections of research errors are almost a daily news story in themselves.

I mention this perception of *The Toronto Sun* to give *Macleans's* readers some context about a current controversy, the campaign against the *Sun's* Toronto Mayor Art Eggleton and the mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations.

On Oct. 8 the mayor and his committee, representing a number of race relations groups and Toronto's anti-apartheid coalition, met with senior management of *The Toronto Sun*. The mayor, who is chairman of the committee, presented a dossier of charges to Toronto *Sun* publisher Paul Godfrey. Briefly, the committee charged that *The Toronto Sun* was a racist newspaper, that specific writers were racist and their work should be repudiated by the publisher, that the *Sun's* stand on such issues as multiculturalism, affirmative action and South Af-

rica was "unacceptable" and that an advisory committee should be set up to assist the newspaper in screening its content for material offensive to the mayor's committee.

If the newspaper did not agree to all this, said the committee, it would recommend that the city of Toronto withdraw its advertising from the *Sun* and recommend that city council boycott *Sun* events.

It was the last threat, of course, that made the committee significant. Anyone can object to *The Toronto Sun's* opinions. But this group came with the endorsement of the mayor of Canada's largest city. And he was prepared to economically threaten the newspaper by withholding taxpayer money.

All I can say is that the *Sun's* opinions fall within the spectrum of respectable democratic thought. The *Sun* has consistently abhorred South African apartheid but has not approved of

"It is not yet the case that conservative views are so offensive that the public interest requires them to be censored"

economic sanctions against South Africa. As far as the newspaper's stand on such social policies as affirmative action and multiculturalism, it disappointed them on the grounds that they are unfair and socially divisive.

The disagreement is shared by many eminent scholars and, together with the newspaper's stand on sanctions, can be found in the policies of such freely elected governments as those of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. Whites, may be afraid that people who oppose such things as affirmative action or sanctions are—in current political parlance—"conservatives." It is not yet the case that conservative views are so offensive that the public interest requires them to be censored.

About the most controversial thing the *Sun* has ever done is to analyze various cultures and the consequences of their practices and values. But the *Sun* has never employed a columnist who has anything but contempt for the notion that one group of people is intrinsically greater than the other or better to another—which is what the ancient doctrine of racism means.

How, then, did the mayor's committee document its charges? It used standard news tactics. Paragraphs and words were taken out of context. They called phrases from editorials and columns such as "average" and "our values" without any reference to where they came from. The committee's submission was a crude propaganda tool masquerading as scientific analysis. Indeed, it is precisely the sort of thing that is designed to stir up hatred between groups and create tensions—which is not surprising, because so many of the groups represented on the mayor's committee make their living out of dealing with racial tensions.

It takes the most extreme left- or right-wing impulses to interfere with anyone's political analysis or expression of opinion. It must have been personally evident to the committee members that however much they disagreed with the *Sun*, the newspaper was publishing lawful ideas.

It was also clear that the mayor's committee had no notion of, and no concern for, the fundamental principle of open discourse in a free society. In both their methods and aims its members were simply acting as a protestant group.

But the threats were greeted with a deadly silence. The Canadian Civil Liberties Association, the Writers' Union of Canada and the Ontario Press Council all remained silent. *The Globe and Mail* ran a major story headlined "Sun sees freedom of the press as sacred"—indicating that the *Globe* certainly did not.

Indeed, in the *Globe* article Reginald said that neither he nor his committee had ever accused the *Sun* of being racist—which was, in part, politically correct. He said the *Globe* looked at the committee's report, it would have seen the stark statement that the conclusion that the paper is racist "is unacceptable."

The silence in the face of these events is both tragic and ominous. The Toronto *Sun* lavishly expressed opinions with which many people in the media and intelligentsia may disagree. That is their right. What such people do not seem to realize is that when there is an attempt to suppress opinions with which they disagree, the result will soon reveal their own opinions or opinions with which they do agree will meet a similar fate.



The new Liberal spirit

Liberal Timmy says that she was exhausted when she returned home to Vancouver early last week. As president of the federal Liberal party's women's convention, she had taken a midnight flight east the previous Wednesday, and since then had gone virtually without sleep as she fought unsuccessfully to win a more prominent role for women at the party's Halifax reform convention. Still, within hours of her return Timmy was again working for the party that had

first time. "Turner has the affection of his party," added Liberal Senator Michael Kirby. "There is no longer the defeatist, chin-on-the-floor attitude that prevailed a year ago."

Recent opinion polls have also shown significant popularity gains for the Liberals. Two weeks ago the Gallup poll—reflecting a series of political setbacks and ministerial resignations suffered by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government—indicated that the Liberals had reduced the gap between them and the Conservatives.

the Commons—has settled the Liberal leadership issue a year before the party meets in Ottawa for a formal election. Even Jean Chrétien, who was runner-up at the party's 1984 leadership convention and is still regarded as a serious rival, told friends last week that Turner's speech and its reception had been impressive. In his speech Turner accused Mulroney of being a "weather-vane leader." Afterward, more of the Liberal caucus—including Chrétien—joined him onstage. "What else could he do?" noted a friend of Chrétien's. That the moment was beyond doubt.

At the same time, the Halifax meeting did little to advance party reform. A hard-fought campaign to give women numerical parity with men in the party organization foundered when a motion backed by Timmy failed to gain approval. Instead, the meeting approved a vague commitment to work toward parity "to the greatest extent possible." The meeting also demonstrated the lack of a clear direction on the vital issue of free trade with the United States. One problem, according to a senior Liberal strategist, is that the party has been so obsessed with reforming



Turner and Chrétien at Halifax convention, receiving a year-long 'chin-on-the-floor' attitude

her anger in Halifax. She was trying to ensure success for a free-riding dinner for party leader John Turner this week during a visit to the West Coast with his caucus. "We owe that guy," said Timmy. "For him to stick in through all that terrible, terrible period after our election thumping—my God, but we owe him." A week after the convention, Liberals failed it as a turning point in the party's fortunes following its worst election defeat in history 14 months ago. According to Newfoundland MP Brian Tobin, the party leader's assured performance in Halifax and the 10 minutes of cheering that followed his keynote speech indicated that, for the

The poll of 1,000 voters, conducted early in October, showed the Liberals trailing by just eight percentage points—compared with 32 points at the election on Sept. 4, 1984. A national poll taken earlier this month by former Liberal pollster Angus Reid Associates of Winnipeg showed that 58 per cent of the 1,058 polled think that Turner is doing a good job of leading his party, compared with 32 per cent who approved of Mulroney's leadership. Declared Timmy: "We are on the way up—it is very, very definite."

Underlying the revival of Liberal spirit is a spring sense that Turner's performance in Halifax—as well as his increasingly confident performance in

his debt—believed to be in excess of \$5.8 billion—that after 14 months in opposition the Liberals have not carried out any polling to determine the public mood on key issues.

But pressure is increasing for the Liberals to get a firm hold on policy. Turner acknowledged that last week during a dinner for his senior staff at Sherbrooke, his official Ottawa residence. The issues to success in Halifax had barely been completed when the leader called for his guests' attention. Then Turner announced what will become phase 2 of his party's reform: "Let us now move on policy."

—BOB MACDONALD in Ottawa



Trudeau receiving Order of Canada from Gov. Gen. Jeanne Sauvé, prime

Life after 24 Sussex

When Pierre Elliott Trudeau retired from political life last year, he declared that he would live quietly in Montreal with his three sons and stay out of the public eye. So far, Trudeau, who is now a member of a Montreal law firm, has done precisely that. And last week close associates of the former Liberal Prime Minister predicted that he would turn down an invitation to re-enter public life as a member of a Commonwealth commission that will try to develop peaceful solutions to South Africa's racial dilemma. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney is reported to announce Canada's nominee for the commission this week. But barring any last-minute change of heart, Trudeau will not be named. Friends said Trudeau felt that he could not spare the time from his children and his work to pursue what the editorial page of the Ottawa Citizen, for one, labelled a "mission impossible."

Katier this month Commonwealth Secretary General Sir Shridath Ramphal flew to Montreal to press Trudeau to join the commission. And indeed, the former Prime Minister seemed to be an ideal candidate for the proposed panel of "eminent persons," which grew out of the meeting of Commonwealth heads of government in the Bahamas last month. During his almost 16 years as Prime Minister, Trudeau's interest in finding solutions to global conscience disparities and his 1982 peace crusade gave him a high profile in world capitals. Eugene Whelan, who served as Trudeau's agriculture minister and now is a well-travelled agricultural consultant, noted that in the Commonwealth and the developing world people "think Trudeau is a maverick, like a god—because they don't read the Canadian newspapers." According to Canadian government sources, Yasuhiro President Yasuhiro Kuroda first suggested that Trudeau should be on the Commonwealth commission.

Trudeau's reluctance to take on the job was consistent with his quiet style since he headed over leadership of the Liberal party and the prime minister's office to John Turner almost 17 months ago. Now 66, he practices law with the Montreal firm of Berman, Blake, associates, basketball games with his three young sons, swims in the pool at his art deco home and lunches with friends in haunts that include the Ritz-Carlton Hotel and the historic Borel's Delicatessen in downtown Montreal. Politically, Trudeau has become an outsider since he left Ottawa, although Mulroney has conferred with him privately from time to time. Trudeau was never officially black, even within his own party. And when the Liberals held a reform convention two weeks ago in Halifax, no special invitation was issued to the man who won four elections for the party. The convention acknowledged Trudeau's 36 years of leadership indirectly by asking to overturn a motion that developed when he was the chief of,

making the party relevant as contested power brokers. When party secretary general David Collette was asked why Trudeau was not attending, he replied: "I think he's out of the country or out of town. He's unable to come." But as the convention opened on Nov. 7, Trudeau was in Montreal, caught out by photographers.

Still, the flashes of the Trudeau-mania that infected thousands of voters in 1968 are still in evidence. Catching sight of Trudeau, typically in a tweed sports jacket and floppy hat, passers-by often stop to gaze at him, shake hands or rush to offer an awkward greeting. In the Astor Building, where he works, some women regularly report seeing him at 4:00 p.m. as people prepare to leave. The reason, said Eugene Resman, president of the firm operating the office building, is that "one of them got on the elevator one day without looking, saw Trudeau there and almost killed herself."

For the Liberal who served under Trudeau, the man is gone but not forgotten. Said Jacques Gauthier, the Liberal deputy house leader: "He's referred to almost daily in conversation. Sometimes in policy discussions we say, 'Well, Trudeau used to think that way.'" But relations between Turner and Trudeau have been strained ever since Turner abruptly left the cabinet in 1972. When 50-year-old Trudeau returned to the Liberals in Montreal last month to launch his political comeback, straight from the heart, Trudeau and Turner attended but did not speak to each other. In fact, sporadic dissatisfaction with Turner's leadership has led some Liberals to discuss a Trudeau comeback, although confident doubt that he would consider it. Said Thomas A. Gervais, Trudeau's former principal secretary and now a political science professor at Harvard: "I don't think he's got much intention left."

For one thing, resentment in Western Canada against Trudeau remains strong. Even British Columbia Liberal Leader Arthur Lee, a self-described Trudeau fan, declared: "It's not so sure if we ever meltown one's feelings about him."

But for his last day on Parliament Hill, enthusiasm for Trudeau has never melted. They include senators who received appointments because of years of loyal service to Trudeau. Philip Gosselin, a Senate delivery, glowing tribute to last Trudeau's birthday on Oct. 18. It is a tradition, when one party is in, are of Jean Chrétien took to him, admirably in the street. His mind is sharp, as always. His wit sparkling, as always. His grace and class are, as always, unspendable."

—PHIL GOSSELIN with
ANTHONY WILSON (STILL) in Montreal



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Ontario's Tories decide

When Ontario Conservatives met last January to elect a new leader, they were also choosing the man who would automatically succeed the retiring William Duff as premier. But the occasion was far less amiable when they delegates convened in Toronto last week for a leadership convention brought about by the May 2 provincial election that eventually led to the defeat of Premier Frank Miller's government. With that, 42 years of Can-

could "went on remaining in opposition at Queen's Park for the next 10 years."

For his part, Timbrell concentrated his campaign on the party's traditional roots in the province's rural and small-town heartland. Timbrell, 35, a former suburban Toronto high school teacher, pledged to take control of the party away from backroom political operators who are part of what is known as the "Big Blue Machine" and who were in-



Grossman and wife, Carol, after his victory: a new leader for a divided party

servative rule in Ontario ended, and Miller decided in August to step down. Three former Conservative ministers competed for his job. In the end, former provincial treasurer Larry Grossman edged out a narrow second-ballot victory over his nearest rival, former agriculture minister Dennis Timbrell, by a margin of only 19 votes out of 1,677—to emerge as leader of a party that is dispirited, divided and dropping steadily in the polls. But Grossman declared after his victory, "This is new a party content with itself."

But the 41-year-old Toronto lawyer's win was likely to reinforce divisions within the party. During his campaign Grossman directed his appeal to the young urban and ethnic voters who re-elected the Tories in the last election and helped pave the way for Premier David Peterson's Liberals to form a minority government in June. Grossman cultivated a progressive image—but without advocating any radical departures from Conservative policy—and he told Tories that unless they showed Ontarians that the party was willing to change, they

involved in Grossman's campaign. A third candidate, former natural resources minister Alan Pope, 46, who was defeated on the first ballot, was hurt during the campaign when some of his campaign workers, in an apparent effort to focus attention on the fact that Grossman is Jewish, began asking delegates if religion made a difference with them. Pope later condemned the tactic.

But the most serious problem facing the new Tory leader is the party's falling popularity among voters. According to a Gallup poll carried out earlier this month for *The Toronto Star*, 47 per cent of Ontario's voters would vote for Peterson's Liberals in an election, while support for the Conservatives under Grossman was 21 points lower. The survey also found that 68 per cent of those polled support the previous legislative alliance between the Liberals and Bob Rae's New Democratic Party and want it to continue. As a result, for Grossman the way to the next provincial election is strewn with obstacles.

—ANDREW ARONOFF in Toronto

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Taking on the Soviets

When Prime Minister Brian Mulroney appointed New Democrat Stephen Lewis as Canada's ambassador to the United Nations last year, some Conservatives worried that ideological conflicts could erupt between the Tory government and the former leader of the Ontario New Democrats. But so far, Lewis has proved an eloquent ambassador who has helped to raise Canada's profile at the UN. Last week Lewis won kudos from many delegates after he helped swing support for a resolution denouncing the Soviet Union during a General Assembly debate on the heavy Soviet military engagement in Afghanistan's six-year-old civil war. Explained Lewis: "There is this lingering perception that left-wingers are ideologically soft on the Eastern Bloc. It should surprise no one to see socialists opposing resolutions."

The UN debate centered on the seventh resolution in six years to condemn the Soviet-led war against anti-Communist Afghan guerrillas. Lewis told the assembly, "If we are back here the same time next year, it is solely because the Soviet Union continues to believe negotiation is preferable to negotiation, and butchery is better than bargaining." The Soviet delegate Yuriiy Safrenchuk angrily retorted that Moscow is giving "unilateral, non-negotiable assistance" to Afghanistan and, in turn, accused Canada of complicity in South Africa's racial policies. Lewis, who has fiercely attacked apartheid, derisively countered that about one million people have died in the Afghanistan war and paraphrased Shakespeare's *Macbeth* to Safrenchuk: "All the perfumes of Arabia will not wash the blood from these hands." After that exchange the condemnatory resolution was carried 152 to 38.

Lewis demonstrated that he can denounce the Soviet regime as articulately as any US right-winger—some of whom have protested against Lewis's criticism of domestic American lobbying to reduce financial support for the UN. Pakistan representative Han Khan said that the Lewis speech was "an exquisite portrayal of the real situation." He added that, with an established reputation at the UN for eloquence, the fervor of Lewis's speech—widely reported in Canada but barely noted in the US press—was nothing less than expected.

—CIVIL BARRETT AND LARRY GLYNN
in New York

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WORLD/COVER

THE STAR WARS SUMMIT

In the end, after all the planning and posturing, hope and hoopla, it came down to a face-to-face confrontation between two men representing the world's two superpowers. This week's Geneva summit between President Ronald Reagan and Soviet Communist party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev is the 11th such meeting since the Cold War began 40 years ago. It is also the first since Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev inked the well-remembered 1979 SALT II agreement at Vienna. Like their predecessors, Reagan and Gorbachev are meeting across a gaping chasm of ideological and real-world hostilities. Still, they share a surpris-

ing preoccupation: both are extremely image-conscious, proud of their talents as "great communicators." Rarely did those skills face more severe—or significant—tests than at the lakeside chalet of the American delegation and the fortress-like Soviet mansion in Geneva, where the talks are being held.

Gorbachev, 54, is a new-style Soviet leader, energetic and articulate. He is also unquestionably tough. The 76-year-old Reagan is a master at projecting a polished political appearance and issuing strong general policy statements based on his unerring political instincts. His grasp of the facts, however, is sometimes shaky, and recently he has taken a crash course in

Soviet politics, history and culture to try to avoid costly mistakes. Both leaders are able negotiators. Both seemed certain to score points in discussions of human rights and regional conflicts and each had competing motives for wrestling with the most contentious issue of all—nuclear control.

For Gorbachev, an arms accord—or at least an easing of East-West tensions—could help to close his grip on the office that he took over after the death of Konstantin Chernenko last March. In particular, it would allow him to hold down military spending and concentrate on modernizing the stagnant Soviet economy. For his part, Reagan has only three years left in of-

fice—and he is clearly concerned about establishing his place in history.

Still, Reagan has repeatedly asserted that he would not, as Gorbachev insisted again last week, abandon his Strategic Defense Initiative—or Star Wars—in exchange for Soviet cuts in offensive weapons, and few observers expected a major breakthrough at Geneva. But even a mere getting-to-know-you summit seemed a possible step, one that could lead to a subsequent arms pact. In the age of overkill, there are few issues prioritarily sweeter—or sadder—than that of the superpowers talking.

—BOB LEVIN in Geneva





COVER

LEAPING INTO SPACE

Except for ceremonial occasions, he has yet wigg his uniform. Currently, appearing before audiences of believers and skeptics alike, he wears an executive's benign blue suit of unremarkable cut and speaks in such soothing tones that his listeners occasionally weep strains to hear him. Before an assembly of neo-parliamentarians in San Francisco last month, he talked meanderingly of "building a more stable world" and of space weapons tests "no more powerful than the spotlight in your child's bedroom." Indeed, five observers faulted the pervasiveness of Lt.-Gen. James Abrahamson,

who for nearly two years has been the persuasive advocate for the complex and controversial concept that lies at the heart of this week's superpower summit in Geneva: President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), better known as Star Wars.

Goalpost: Abrahamson's mission illustrates the public relations battle that the United States and the Soviet Union have waged over Star Wars in the months leading up to the summit. And the very bitterness of the contest underlines the gravity of the issues at stake. The space-based antimissile scheme, which Reagan has vowed not to sacrifice, has played a key role in

luring Soviet negotiators back to the arms control talks—and Mikhail Gorbachev to the Geneva meeting, as the Soviet leader acknowledged last week. But some analysts view strategic defense as a wedge that could divide Washington from its Western allies, prevent a new era of détente and conceivably set off a new arms race.

Antidote: To Reagan, who launched the program in a speech on March 23, 1983, SDI is a perfect defensive shield—a "moral" antidote that could free the world from its pressuring balance of terror and render nuclear weapons obsolete. To the Kremlin it is a network of high-tech lasers and particle beams in the sky aimed at winning the American military superiority. Variations on these conflicting views have spread among the Atlantic Alliance and divided U.S. public opinion as well, although an early Washington Post poll reported last week that for the first time a majority of Americans now favors Star Wars.

As he finished last-minute preparations for Geneva, Reagan, in an interview with *Starweek* journalists, again hailed the five-year, \$20-billion research scheme as "my dream." But Robert McNamara—leading five other former secretaries of defense who oppose SDI—has branded that dream a "fantasy and dangerous illusion." SDI, with its heady mix of idealistic

Advanced tactical fighter of the future: Dark Reign-style hardware

rhetoric and futuristic Dark Reign-style hardware, the Star Wars proposal has captured the popular imagination. At the same time, it has provoked the U.S. scientific community into the most acrid debate since the Manhattan Project—the U.S. government's program for building the atom bomb 40 years ago. Over the past two months about 4,600 scientists at 96 college campuses have pledged to refuse federal Star Wars research grants.

Experiment: Currently, SDI consists only of a range of unrelated and disconnected technological experiments, including an overall blueprint. Its vagueness is in much a product of the Reagan administration's strategic thinking as is its technology. A strong and persuasive cadre of administration officials shares a lingering distrust of arms control and a desire to rewrite U.S. defense policy. That distrust arises from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which virtually outlawed the defensive antimissile systems both sides had been working as since the 1950s. Arms control experts regard it as the crown jewel of their achievements for the simple reason that for 13 years it has successfully prevented an arms race in defensive weapon systems. But opponents, including the President himself, consider it as a barrier to centuries

that would reduce U.S. vulnerability to a possible Soviet first strike.

In fact, Reagan was contemplating an attack on the ABM treaty as part of his 1975 presidential campaign, when he scored the headquarters of the North American Air Defense Command on Colorado Tower, deep inside SOVIET's control center in Cheyenne Mountain, his vision of a space shield was born. Shown the system's giant radar screens, Reagan asked then-Soviet commander Gen. Yuryi Izrael what he would do if his monitors spotted a Soviet missile heading for the United States. Said Izrael: "Nothing." As Reagan later told author Robert Scheer: "I think the thing that shocked me the most was that here with all this great technology of ours—and we cannot stop any of the weapons that are coming at us."

His political strategists told him that the issue of a space-based defense would be political suicide in his campaign. But after his election a small group of true believers continued to push for it. They were led by physicist Edward Teller, the father of the hydrogen bomb, whose Project Exodus—as it was later propelled by a nuclear explosion and developed at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory outside San Francisco—was one

of the most promising candidates for a new space weapon.

Threat: Then, on Feb. 11, 1983, in a lecture with the Soviet Chiefs of Staff, Reagan's defense advisers told him that Soviet weapon strength was gaining and that Congress was unwilling to support the MX missile. They told him he needed a new vision to regain the moral high ground from the nuclear freeze movement, then at its peak. Six weeks later, in what the White House had billed as a routine "threat" speech, a secret paragraph—inserted at the last minute and code-named "NO-POW"—launched SDI.

Initially, the President presented his vision as a way to end the Russian roulette logic that formed the cornerstone of the current strategic doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). According to that theory, massive nuclear arsenals keep the peace by threatening massive retaliation. By entering that three-decade-old equation, Star Wars would represent one of the most profound legacies of Reagan's presidency. But apart from the President himself, virtually no senior U.S. official still expresses a belief in the possibility of a leakproof nuclear umbrella. Penetration by even a single warhead could wreak irrevocable devastation on what military strategists call "soft targets"—human beings.

Shield: Instead, the administration's Star Wars supporters say that, at best, the foreseeable future of SDI would serve as an interim level of defense for "hard targets"—nuclear missile silos. But that more modest end would not shift strategic thinking from deterrence to defense. Said Kurt Gottfried, a Cornell University physicist: "It's just a way of adding more deterrence. That's not what the President had in mind at all." In fact, most top administration officials acknowledge privately that that is exactly what they had in mind all along. They are carrying a transition period between the current MAD offensive strategy and Reagan's missile-free promised land. In the interim the United States would have both offensive and defensive weapons with which to wage the fight—which some, including Richard Nixon, among others, has acknowledged would be destabilizing.

The transition period—lasting until the elusive goal of a perfect umbrella appeared—was precisely what Soviet leaders say they fear most. And in December 1983, the Soviet foreign policy studies at Washington's Brookings Institution: "They believe the defense will be merely a supplement to offense. That's their nightmare." Faced with what they regard to be a bid for military one-upsmanship, the Soviets have threatened to match Star Wars with their own defensive system, namely in-

assessing inventories of offensive nuclear armaments that would overwhelm any American shield. Last month three top Soviet officials called a Moscow news conference to warn that if Washington did not agree to limit its research, the Kremlin would launch its own sponsored autonomous defense—regardless of the impact on Gorbachev's ambitious reform plan.

Soviet officials also have taken the unusual step of offering to share defense technology with the Soviets. But in his interview last week the President stipulated that he would not give an away for free. Said Reagan:

"They're going to have to pay for it, but at least it's not free." The statement made clear an essential problem of mounting such a space-based defense system: the United States could not do it without Soviet concurrence. As Dr. James Fletcher cautioned in a 1983 feasibility report, "The ultimate utility of that system will depend on the extent to which the Soviet Union agrees to mutual defense arrangements and offense limitation." And many are critics hold that the Soviets would more agree to co-operate, said a report published last month by the nonpartisan Congressional Office of Technology Assessment (OTA). "There can be no assurance the Soviets will behave as we think they should."

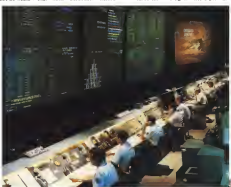
Instead, the Soviet Union may strike back—as an arms race in which the United States is vulnerable. Real Gorbachev "The made short-term military concerns is that it will undermine a considerable degree of common unwritten understanding about not interfering with each other's satellites." He points out that it could start with simple jamming and harassment of the military and communications satellites on which Western security depends.

Treaty. But the failure to negotiate an agreement on Star Wars will have its most devastating consequences on the 18-year-old anti-treaty. Last month National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane surprised Washington's allies by announcing a new U.S. interpretation of the treaty that would allow 300 research, development and testing—up to second deployment. The new control restrictions align with the U.S. contention that the Sov-

iet Union is still actively engaged in its own strategic defense program. Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger has said congressional hearings that Soviet expenditures on defense technology equal or surpass their spending for offensive weapons. And most analysts agree that the large phased-array radar under construction on the town of Krasnoyarsk in central Siberia is the keystone of an anti-ballistic missile system that fully contravenes the ABM treaty. Moscow itself tacitly acknowledged that when Gorbachev offered last

year warned against the "west of all possible worlds"—creeching the limits of the ABM treaty only to find that Star Wars remains unworkable.

Battle. As the last dispute illustrates, the key Star Wars battle is the one for hearts and minds. Leading the charge for the administration, Aleksandr, 52, a lifetime astronaut candidate and Vietnam fighter-pilot, has persuasive public relations credentials. As director of the U.S. space shuttle program in 1983, he gained full funding from a rightist Congress and saved the P-16 fighter-conceptor de-



U.S. Strategic Air Command in Moscow, sending a new vision to regain high ground

velopment by convincing U.S. allies to buy the plane. Howard temporarily in a deep downturn after building that he shares with the P-16 and White Service, Aleksandr's mission is to assure that the U.S. is not an enthusiasm that fits with the desire of the Reagan administration in 1989. His most potent weapon is money—the generous research contracts that he awards to academics and defense contractors. This year's projected \$30 billion.

According to the New York-based Council on Economic Priorities, an independent think tank, the grants will build political support in universities and industry. Having acquired a heavy financial stake in Star Wars, they will likely to continue the program long after Reagan leaves office. Encouraging among defense contractors is already

relocated by convincing U.S. allies to buy the plane. Howard temporarily in a deep downturn after building that he shares with the P-16 and White Service, Aleksandr's mission is to assure that the U.S. is not an enthusiasm that fits with the desire of the Reagan administration in 1989. His most potent weapon is money—the generous research contracts that he awards to academics and defense contractors. This year's projected \$30 billion.

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Balancing the nuclear equation

Disagreements about strategic defense lie at the heart of the arms control impasse in Geneva, but the Star Wars debate is only one of several disarmament issues that divide the Superpowers. On Oct. 4, Moscow proposed a 50-percent reduction in both strategic nuclear delivery vehicles (launchers) and nuclear charges (warheads). The Soviet definition of strategic included all U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe but

excluded Soviet missiles aimed at the European targets. In its counteroffer, tabled on Nov. 1, officials in Washington stated that strategic weapons should include only long-range or intercontinental systems based in the United States or the Soviet Union and capable of reaching the other's sovereign territory. The chart compares the two sides' current nuclear forces and some of the key proposals for cuts.

U.S. PROPOSAL

A limit of 6,000 warheads on submarine- and land-based ballistic missiles and air-launched cruise missiles. The United States will abandon development of the mobile Midgarden missile if the Soviets scrap plans for their mobile SS-20 and SS-25 land-based missiles.

SUBCEILINGS

- a maximum of 3,000 warheads of land-based ICBMs
- a maximum of 4,000 warheads of land or sea ballistic missiles
- 1,500 warheads on air-launched cruise missiles
- 350 long-range bombers

INF WEAPONS

Last medium-range forces in Europe to 148 launchers—about equal to the number of U.S. cruise and Pershing II launchers. British and French independent nuclear forces would not be counted.

SPACE WEAPONS

Permit research and testing of the Strategic Defense Initiative. Sharing of space defense technology with the Soviets could be negotiated.

TOTAL ESTIMATED NUCLEAR WARHEADS

CURRENTLY DEPLOYED

U.S. U.S.S.R.

MISSILE PAYLOAD

2m kg 6m kg

STRATEGIC

10,174 9,887

ICBMs: 2,118 6,420

SLBMs: 5,536 2,787

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SOVIET PROPOSAL

A limit of 6,000 nuclear warheads and a ban on new types of missiles. The Soviets could then proceed with the deployment of SS-20 and SS-25 ICBMs and the SS-20 submarine-launched ballistic missile. The United States would have to abandon weapons in earlier stages of development, the SS-20, Midgarden, Trident D-5 and the Stealth bomber.

SUBCEILINGS

- a maximum of 3,000 warheads on land-based ICBMs
- a ban on air-launched cruise missiles
- 30 long-range bombers (not including 300 Blackbird bombers, which the Soviets consider non-strategic)

INF WEAPONS

Cut the number of Soviet warheads aimed at Europe to the total deployed by the United States, Britain and France. Within that number, the United States could maintain 120 cruise missiles in Europe, but no Pershing II missiles.

SPACE WEAPONS

Ban the testing, development and deployment of all space-based weapons. The Soviet Union might permit laboratory research.

INDEPENDENT NUCLEAR FORCES

Britain and France 146

*Estimated number of deployed warheads by the end of 1989. As of November, 1989 only 119 Pershing II and ground-based cruise missiles had been deployed.

Source: The Arms Control Association

running high. When Abrahamson involved the industry to a conference on how to win Star Wars contracts in August, 1984, he had to move the site from a 400-seat state department theater, 1,200 executives attended. There is little doubt that 900 research funds

tal in seeking U.S. funding and cruise missiles on continental shelf, they were not anxious to promote a vision that Reagan claimed would make those weapons—and their own nuclear deterrent forces—obsolete.

But these concerns were balanced by

round-the-Earth to refuse participation in SDI—has launched the continent's own program called Eureka. But Eureka remains poorly defined, and Star Wars research contracts have already been awarded to European companies.

Soon, defense analysts charge that Canada is implicated in Star Wars despite the fact that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney formally declined the Pentagon's invitation two months ago. For one thing, a defense against intercontinental ballistic missiles is useless without a complementary defense against what military experts call "the no-breaching threat"—low-flying Soviet bombers and cruise missiles that never enter outer space. That is precisely the function that Canada has undertaken in NORAD by agreeing to share the costs of modernizing the North Warning System's radar.

Accords: A parliamentary committee is now reviewing the NORAD accord, which is up for renewal next February. According to new defense critic Pauline Jewett, a key clause, stipulating that Canada would not undertake any NATO commitments that violated the ABM treaty, was negligently dropped in 1980. At the Shamrock Summit in Quebec City last March, Mulroney also signed a defense memorandum of understanding committing Canada to co-operation in "space-based technologies consistent with NATO agreements." And defense analyst William Askin of Washington's Institute for Policy Studies argues that some pretest early-warning and sea command functions will depend on a Canadian role.

Indeed, as Britain's prestigious Institute for Strategic Studies noted in a recent report, Star Wars has opened a "controversy which will run for many years." And the controversy appears to be building. In recent months Congress has cut nearly \$6 billion out of this year's SDI budget request, and many congressmen concluded that they supported the program only to give the President another bargaining chip in current arms control talks. If Reagan refuses to use it, they threaten to cut more funds from the program. Brookings's Steinhilber adds that if Reagan rejects a Soviet offer of offensive nuclear arms cuts rather than put limits on Star Wars, he risks seriously alienating his European allies. Said Steinhilber: "If there's no compromise, it's going to get very nasty." Whatever the outcome, Paul Stares, author of *The Militarization of Space*, warns that the advent of Star Wars has been "akin to opening the mythical Pandora's box," raising questions that will leave technology, military strategy—and perhaps the world—forever changed.

—RICHARD MCKENNA in Washington



Fighting a missile: a fundamental claim of the arms control process

will speed up breakthroughs on several technical frontiers.

Abrahamson has also been instrumental in winning allied support for Star Wars, in part by swilling European industry to join the SDI research effort. Initially, European governments discounted the program. Only a year after spending enormous political capi-

tal the fear of being excluded from a technological revolution that could leave their lagging high-tech industries even further behind and provoke a scientific brain drain to the United States. Said German Chancellor Helmut Kohl: "European allies must not be technologically decoupled." To counteract that, French President François Mitter-

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Joining John and Martha each evening is a two-person news team. On Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, the team will be John Downer and Bob Mackowiak. On Sunday, the team will be John Downer and Martha Stewart.

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**6:30
WORLD REPORT**

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GLOBAL — THE NEWS TEAM THAT CARES.

Conflicting interests

In a speech to the United Nations last month, President Ronald Reagan said that in his recent meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev he would raise the participation of Soviet troops in efforts to regional conflicts around the globe as an obstacle to limiting the arms race. "We cannot accommodate ourselves to the use of force and intervention to control

date and expand the reach of totalitarianism," the President said. The Reagan proposal called for Soviet-backed regimes to open negotiations with opposing rebel forces supported by the United States. Washington and Moscow, he added, would then work together to guarantee any remaining settlements in Latin America, Africa and Southeast Asia. The key hot spots.

AFGHANISTAN

An estimated 115,000 Soviet troops are fighting alongside the 50,000-strong Afghan army against about 300,000 U.S.-backed Muslim rebels in a bloody but inconclusive war that began almost six years ago. The Muslim guerrillas, or Mujahideen—they also receive material aid from China and Saudi Arabia—have proclaimed their struggle a "holy war" against the Communist regime of President Najibullah Karezai, who seized power during the Soviet Union's Dec. 1979, invasion. The fighting has killed an estimated 16,000 Soviet troops and hundreds of thousands of civilians. Some four million refugees have fled to neighboring Pakistan and Iran.



ANGOLA

Some 30,000 Cuban troops and 1,500 Soviet soldiers support the Marxist government of President Eduardo Dos Santos against guerrillas led by Jonas Savimbi and backed by South Africa and the United States. South African troops have made numerous forays into Angola—both to support Savimbi's forces and to resist Angolan-based Namibian guerrillas seeking independence from Pretoria. According to Moscow, the South African raids are aimed at destabilizing Angola, which gained independence from Portugal in 1975. Washington's proposed settlement: South Africa withdraws from Namibia and the Angolans send the Cubans home.



KAMPUCHEA

Since the overthrow of the brutal dictator Pol Pot in 1978 and the installation of a Vietnamese-backed regime in Phnom Penh the following year, a coalition of Marxist and non-Communist rebel groups have been battling 90,000 government troops and 300,000 Vietnamese invaders for control of the country. Since 1982 the rebel coalition has been backed by the United States, China and the Association of South East Asian Nations. The Soviets provide aid and some 3,000 military advisers to the Vietnamese and the government. Vietnam has occasionally hinted at willingness to withdraw, but efforts to resolve the conflict have failed.



NICARAGUA

Since the popular revolution in 1979 which overthrew U.S.-backed dictator Anastasio Somoza, the left-wing Sandinista government has been fighting 10,000 rebel "contra" forces funded and trained by Washington. Two weeks ago Reagan claimed his administration had evidence of a "serious increase" in Soviet arms shipments to Nicaragua. And Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte—echoing U.S. claims that Nicaragua is exporting revolution to its neighbors in Central America—accused Nicaragua of offering training and sanctuary to Salvadoran rebels. Nicaragua boasts 3,000 Soviet Bloc and Cuban personnel, according to Washington.



ETHIOPIA

The Soviet-backed government of Mengistu Haile Mariam has been fighting separatists and other insurgent groups since 1977. An estimated 1,700 Soviet advisers and 25,000 Cuban troops are helping the government. The conflict has hampered Western relief efforts to much of the famine-plagued country held by secessionist rebels in Eritrea and Tigray. Ethiopia has signed friendship and cooperation treaties with the Soviet Union (1978) and with Libya and South Yemen (1981) in response to U.S. military installations in neighboring Somalia, in Egypt, next door to Libya, and in Oman, which is South Yemen's neighbor.



THE MIDDLE EAST

The persistent pressure for a Palestinian homeland on the Israeli-occupied West Bank divides the United States and Israel on one hand from the Soviet Union and the Arab world on the other. As well, Washington sees Soviet support of Iran, Libya and North Yemen—and Syrian dominance in Lebanon—as a potential threat to U.S. interests in the region. Failure to build on the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, observers fear, may fuel Muslim fundamentalism that could destabilize moderate Arab nations, including Egypt and Jordan. And Syrian efforts to achieve military parity with Israel heighten the risk of renewed war.



A Star Wars scenario

COVER

An harsher critic maintains that President Ronald Reagan's objective of creating a generation of space-based defense weapons belongs in a Hollywood film script, not a Washington policy manual. But Reagan, a former movie star familiar with both types of writing, insists his dream can become reality. And if the President were to assign U.S. filmmaker George Lucas—creator of the highly successful *Star Wars* series, featuring such characters as hero Luke Skywalker, heroine Princess Leia, and R2-D2—to produce a movie of the Reagan concept, the script might begin:

Scene 1. A Soviet missile base

On by one, the engines ignite to send a series of giant Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) enshrouded with the Soviet hammer-and-sickle insignia. Slowly the ICBS begin their deadly climb into the atmosphere.

Scene 2. U.S. weapons control room

Starting from-far at Strategic Defense Initiative Command's massive wall map of the Northern Hemisphere are Luke Skywalker, Princess Leia and R2-D2, a general robot. The map is aglow with flashing red lights inside Soviet territory.

LUKE
"That's it! They've launched!"

LEIA
"Oh, no! What can we do?"

R2D2
"We can nip them!"

LUKE moves briskly to a control panel, pushes a series of buttons, then picks up a microphone.

LUKE (into microphone)

"Boost phase lasers deployed, sir. Particle-beam interceptors standing by."

Scene 3. A space satellite

An antismissile laser platform, orbiting Earth, is borne the Stars and Stripes emblem of the United States. A glittering mosaic mirror swings slowly from left to right, and a thin shaft of light streaks across the dark void.

Scene 4. Soviet airspace

Nearly 40 miles over the Danube River, a ball-down scene. Thunder through a clear autumn sky. Suddenly, the lead missile is struck by a darting beam of light. There is a stunning explosion, then a blinding fireball.

Scene 5. Weapons control room

The wall map is in the control room again. While Luke, Leia and R2-D2 watch, the flashing lights blink out one after another.

LUKE
"The lasers got them all!"

R2D2
"Of course."

LEIA (sneering)

"Oh, Luke, it worked!"

Obviously relieved, Luke picks up the microphone.

LUKE
"All clear, sir."

Scene 6. The White House

At his desk in the Oval Office the President of the United States maintains a poker face as he speaks into a phone.

PRESIDENT
"Well, does, Skywalker. My

congratulations to all your

people at the Command."

He replaces the receiver and smiles broadly at the unfocused generals and civilian advisors seated in a semicircle around his desk.

PRESIDENT (cont'd)

"Oh, gentlemen, it's time

to exploit the new facts of

life in Moscow."

Once again poker-faced, the President picks up the phone.

That scene depicts Reagan's space-weapon proposals as an unqualified success. But in reality, even some of the President's closest supporters concede that they do not know exactly how—or even whether—his idea will work. Still, the concept has developed support in the United States since Reagan first proposed it in 1983. It has also provoked anger among Soviet officials. The Kremlin's military and economic plan-



Space-based chemical laser satellites. The program is mind-boggling.

ners are deeply concerned about the effort and cost of any attempt by Moscow to match what would be a vast new American defense enterprise.

The U.S. program's official title is Strategic Defense Initiative, but it has become almost universally known as "Star Wars"—after the Lucas film. Its ultimate objective is to make the United States and its allies effectively immune to attack by Soviet nuclear missiles. Its estimated cost, a minimum \$30 billion during an initial 10-year period, its

U.S. enemy Nike: strategic defense



prospects of becoming operational. Also, although some U.S. military and scientific leaders say that American technological superiority can overcome virtually any obstacle—with enough time and money. Declared Lt.-Gen. James Abrahamson, chief of the SDI program: "We have a notion, which can, indeed, produce miracles."

Paradise: Much of the preliminary work in pursuit of an SDI breakthrough is being carried out at federally funded laboratories in California and New Mexico. And many of the ideas under consideration—including laser space and particle-beam rays—either are beyond the current state of science to produce or are based on technology that exists only in crude experimental form. But if the American idea ever continues to expand, it will eventually involve a broad cross section of U.S.—and foreign—industry and provide a multibillion-dollar bonanza for defense contractors.

As a result, SDI is being closely studied by foreign politicians and businessmen, as well as by their U.S. counterparts. An all-party Canadian parliamentary committee reported last August, "The anti-rocket program can be viewed as an economic initiative designed to revitalize the technological base of U.S. industry." And, according to Senator John Glenn (D-Ohio), a former astronaut

whose study of SDI proposals left him doubtful that Reagan's goal can be achieved, "the program is mind-boggling."

The possible nonmilitary applications of whatever new technology emerges are still unclear. But as the parliamentary committee noted in its report, space research is likely "to provide a continuous source of commercial spinoffs." As well, the SDI concept—and whether or

Soviet enemy Korper: deeply concerned



not, SDI might be presented with R—has already emerged as a major element in the Geneva arms negotiations between U.S. diplomat Paul Nitze and chief Soviet envoy Viktor Karpov. Eventually, by agreeing not to attempt what some critics regard as an impossible program, the United States may extract major arms concessions from the Soviets.

Still, the overall objective of Reagan's SDI proposal is defense against nuclear destruction. No fewer than four separate approaches defined by the Pentagon are being studied by scientists at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, near San Francisco, and the Federal Aviation Laboratory at Los Angeles, at various stages. Indeed, the SDI administration's signature about the precise goal of strategic defense has provided widespread skepticism. Said SDI critic Karl Gottfried, a Cornell University physicist: "It is not possible to ask whether it will work (and one answers, 'What is it supposed to do?')."

Weapons. According to the Pentagon's Abrahamson, the defense department continues to prefer the "layered shield" approach under which a variety of new weapons would be used to attack Soviet ICBS at various stages. The attacks could be made during the ascent (boost-phase), during midflight in space and, finally, during the warheads' re-entry into the atmosphere just before they reach their targets. Among the new weapons under consideration: four distinct laser guns which would intercept by sending deadly energy (light) at Soviet armor, causing them to explode; and the potentially more damaging particle beams, which would create an intense stream of destructive atoms (protons and neutrons) at Soviet missile bases, causing them to explode. Also under study: the so-called rail gun, which would use concentrated electrical energy to hurl electronically guided "rockets" at incoming missiles.

But many problems remain. One obstacle is the difficulty of finding ways to generate the huge amounts of energy some of the weapons would require. Another problem arises from the gigantic dimensions of the hardware that would have to be placed in space. Scientists would also have to develop a highly sophisticated computer and sensor system to operate the weapons with speed and precision in Hollywood film script. These problems are solved with special effects. In the SDI world of applied science, solutions are less readily at hand.

—ROBERT MILLER in Toronto

The limits of tolerance

COVER

On Sept. 18, the night before the Jewish New Year, some 600 Jews, mostly men over 60, gathered inside Moscow's central synagogues to perform the traditional evening service. Outside, on Arbataya Street, watched by the riflemen and the plainclothes men, roughly 2,000 Jews of the new generation were engaged in a difficult demonstration of hope. One man, perhaps 35, stroked a guitar and sang off-key. A young girl, not more than 18, played a recorder and led others in a sing-song that lasted for more than an hour. Here and there groups of people danced the traditional Israeli folk dance, the hora. Then, at precisely 19:30, a line of rediffusions moved down the street toward the crowd. Out of the darkness came a voice, over a loudspeaker: "Jewish Comrades, go home. Go to the subway." Reluctantly, the crowd dispersed, filtering toward the subway, followed by the line of rediffusions at a discreet distance of about 20 paces—again, reminding of the precise limits of Moscow's tolerance for the practice of Judaism.

Visas. This week in Geneva, after long discussions on arms control and regional wars, President Ronald Reagan will talk across the table at his summit partner, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, and positively address the condition of Soviet Jews. The American approach will be low-key, reminding commitments that the Soviet Union made when it signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights contained in 1955's Helsinki Accord. The central obligation: to grant citizens the right of free emigration. According to senior administration officials Reagan is prepared to offer important trade concessions in return for significant Soviet improvements on the human rights agenda—specifically, a significant increase in exit visas for Jews and separated families and the release of political prisoners.

Moscow's compliance with freedoms enshrined in the Helsinki documents has been uneven. Since large-scale emigration began in 1971, more than 250,000 Jews have left the Soviet Union. At its peak in 1973, the high-water mark of American-Soviet détente, some 50,000 Jews were given exit visas. But since then the numbers have fallen off dramatically. Last year only

104 Soviet Jews received permission to emigrate. The 10-month total for 1985 is only slightly higher. Declared Kiba Shostakovich, a Leningrad computer scientist who applied for emigration 12 years ago: "After the Soviet president, François Mitterrand, was offered his country's assistance in flying the airplane to Israel. And Israel's Ministry of Absorption has drafted detailed plans for receiving large numbers of Soviet Jews. Said Zvi Eyal, a spokesman for the Jewish Agency, an immigration re-orientation. 'There's no meat yet, but there are good smells coming from the Kremlin kitchen.'"



Moscow apathetic Khatichurman: grave uncertainty

Shostakovich, 41, is only one of about 50,000 "refuseniks"—Soviet Jews who have formally applied for exit visas and received official refusals. Tens of thousands more, perhaps half the Soviet Union's estimated 2.5 million Jews, are awaiting only a favorable signal from the Kremlin to submit their own applications. "Some would stay," conceded Sacha Yan-polsky, who lost his job as a Leningrad engineer after applying for emigration in 1976. "But on the first hint that the gates were opening again, the run of exits would be fluid."

In fact, ever since the Israeli and Soviet ambassadors to France met secretly in Paris last July, there have

been periodic reports that Moscow was about to adopt a more liberal approach to Jewish emigration. Reports from Moscow have said that Gorbachev has authorized the release of about 15,000 Jews annually. The French president, François Mitterrand, has offered his country's assistance in flying the airplane to Israel. And Israel's Ministry of Absorption has drafted detailed plans for receiving large numbers of Soviet Jews. Said Zvi Eyal, a spokesman for the Jewish Agency, an immigration re-orientation. "There's no meat yet, but there are good smells coming from the Kremlin kitchen."

Shoptalk. But there is little hard evidence of a real shift in Soviet policy. Many observers maintain that Moscow has itself orchestrated the symphony of stories to defuse summit criticism of its record on human rights. Among the most skeptical are the Soviet refuseniks themselves. Said one Moscow engineer, who prefers to remain anonymous: "Here, there are no signs of improvement. Refuseniks who were specifically told that they would receive their exit visas were told to renew their applications have actually been refused."

The same doubts are voiced about prospects for an early resumption of ties between Moscow and Jerusalem. The Soviet Union severed formal diplomatic relations in 1967 after the six-day Arab-Israeli war. But recently a series of discreet contacts between Israeli and Warsaw Pact envoys again fueled speculation that the Soviet Union was as the brink of restoring normal diplomatic channels. Again, nothing concrete has emerged. Beyond an agreement with Poland to exchange low-level envoys.

For Soviet Jews the summit meeting is the climax of months of gathering tension—and excitement. Many of them predict that it will determine whether Israel becomes the benefi-



Leningrad 'refuseniks' Lev and Lee Shapiro: social and professional pursuits

ary of tens of thousands of new immigrants or whether the Soviet Union continues to stifle Jewish nationalism with discrimination, harassment and state-sponsored anti-Semitism. "Don't confuse us with decadents," said Yan-polsky, who earns a living by working about eight 20-hour shifts a month as a maintenance man at a Leningrad car park. "We aren't out to change the Soviet system of government. We have committed only one crime: we have expressed a desire to leave."

Perishes. The urge to leave the Soviet Union puts refuseniks in a situation of great uncertainty. Relieved to the remote fringes of society, they live perpetually suspended, stranded in a

twilight zone in which they can neither go forward to freedom in the West nor backward if they wanted, to Mother Russia. They have been stripped of jobs, degrees, professional standing. Their younger children are routinely abused by schoolmates, their older ones denied entrance to university. Many suffer from a loss of physical, psychological and psychosomatic illnesses, including ulcers, depression and stammering. Many have lived for 10 years or more "in refusal"—the best, most productive years of their lives—denied access to literature, research and laboratories.

A small number of refuseniks manage to maintain jobs in their own pro-

duction. One is Leningrad computer specialist Vladimir Lifshits, who staged a 30-day hunger strike and was finally hired as an entry-level programmer. Most either work at levels well below their qualifications or find that they have become social and professional pariahs. "Most of my colleagues won't have anything to do with me," said Moscow physicist Arman Khatichurman. "And the few who are willing to talk to me I avoid—lest I cause them trouble I go to work, collect my salary, but I do nothing. Nothing."

"You see, for us," added Lev Shapiro, a computer engineer currently employed as a bus repairman at a Leningrad factory, "the Soviet Union is a vast prison. But the point is, prison sentences generally come to an end. If you live in Kuzna, there is no end to your sentence."

Crackdown. The outcome would be more tolerable if the government permitted the free and open practice of Judaism. "If we can't leave," said one Moscow refusenik, "we must have us alone to pray." Instead, Soviet authorities have cracked down hard on the teaching of Hebrew and other aspects of Jewish culture. "They aren't the Nazis," said the wife of one under-ground Hebrew teacher in Leningrad. "They can't kill Jews but they can kill Judaism." In recent months three Hebrew teachers—all refuseniks—have been arrested, tried, convicted and sentenced to prison terms. Because teaching Hebrew is not prohibited by Soviet law, the defendants are typically charged with other offenses—disrespecting or slandering the Soviet state. In the case of Raul Zelikovich, a 50-year Leningrad engineer sentenced last August to three years in a Soviet prison camp, the evidence was slender based on an interview by a newspaper with the government in which Zelikovich expressed his desire to emigrate. Zelikovich, who suffers from high blood pressure, arteriosclerosis and inflamed kidneys, is not expected to survive his term.

Still, the refuseniks remain hopeful. "Hopeful, but realistic," said Shostakovich, whose parents and a younger brother were granted exit visas several years ago. "What is important," declared another refusenik, "is that the West not remain silent. I do not know whether rallies and demonstrations really do us any positive good. But I do know this. The absence of such rallies would do us positive harm. It would be taken as a signal by Moscow that the West no longer cares about this issue and as a license to solve its own Jewish question at its own risk."

—KIMBLE CHARLES in Moscow



Prisoner Zelikovich with family before his trial; not expected to survive

'Like running into hell'

For the residents of Armero, a Colombian town of 32,000 nestled near the majestic Nevado del Ruiz volcano, there had been weeks of uneasiness. Before dawn last Thursday terrestrial rains began pounding the roofs of the town's concrete-block buildings. But many inhabitants of the coffee and coffee centre were more concerned about the smoldering volcano 50 km away. The Nevado del Ruiz, after a 300-year slumber, had become active again. For two months the snow-topped mountain that towers above a scenic national park rumbled, far sizzling and frost licking had been spewing steam and ash. Experts from the Colombian capital of Bogotá, 170 km to the southeast, had drawn up contingency measures for evacuation of the area in case the three-mile-high volcano erupted. But no one predicted that the luckless residents of Armero were about to die in one of the worst volcanic disasters in history.

At about 10:30 p.m. on Wednesday Nevado del Ruiz exploded. Fire, ash and rocks blew more than five miles into the upper atmosphere. A wall of mud and debris broke away from the crater and began its deadly course down the slope, following the route of the Llanquella River toward Armero. Gathering force, it took only minutes to reach the town and the nearby villages of Santuario, Camello and Pindalito. In a flash the destructive surge, known as a lahar, buried streets and houses—and people—down the Llanquella Valley. By Saturday the Colombian government estimated the death toll at more than 20,000. Thousands more were injured, and others remained trapped or marooned by liquid mud. Then, the volcano erupted again and the government warned people fleeing along four rivers in the region to leave their homes and seek refuge. Among the victims of the first eruption: 71 members of the Armero Red Cross who, in a tragic irony, were

at a planning meeting when the disaster struck. Said survivor Jorge Enrique "It was like running into hell."

In response to urgent appeals for help—the United Nations Disaster Relief agency issued a worldwide appeal for tents, blankets and cooking utensils—governments and international agencies began rushing emergency supplies to Colombia. In Ottawa, External Relations Minister Marique Velasco announced a cash donation of \$60,000 through the UN agency and 500,000 worth of blankets, water containers and emergency medical supplies through the International Red Cross and the Pan American Health Organization. Velasco said Canada will also respond to an "urgent request" from the Colombian government for astronomical and scientific equipment and technicians to monitor seismic activity associated with the volcanic eruption. The monitoring is designed to provide warning of any further eruption or related earthquakes.

In Geneva, where the League of Red Cross Societies launched an appeal for \$47 million (US) to help survivors of the Colombian tragedy, League spokesman George Reed reported the deaths of the 71 members of the Armero Red Cross while they were attending a local beach meeting. Only 11 members at the meeting escaped by scrambling to higher ground, Reed added, and they immediately formed an emergency rescue team.

In the first attempts to get aid to the stricken area, rescue teams advancing overland ran up against floods caused by the heavy rains mixed by the peak's melted ice and snow, which gave the volcano its Spanish name—Snow Peak of Ruiz. Witnesses reported seeing bits of motorcycles, bones and bodies—as many as 200 of them, many of them dismembered. Basting down-slopes in water turned yellow from volcanic sulphur. One survivor, his arm torn off by the force of the ava-



Armero's avalanche of mud and (below) its survivors, a victim's warning from the volcano's throat. But a nation unprepared for a surge unleashed from nature.



leaves, trampled dirt, kilometers carrying him on in search of help. Ambulances and rescue workers could not reach the area at first because the deluge swept away bridges and roads, including the principal highway from Manizales, the capital of Caldas province. Airedail carrying rescuers were hampered by dark clouds that turned the tropical afternoon into night.

When they arrived they began the heartbreaking task of digging out the dead. "Some of the bodies had been under mud for six hours when we dug them out," Red Cross rescue worker

Others scrambled to rooftops only a few feet above the settling mud. Head Police Sgt. José Víctor Ovalzaro, who survived by climbing a tree after the local police station was swept away: "I think I am born again. People were running around in all directions, some of them without any clothes on, implying the 'behave'." Of Ovalzaro's 24 colleagues, only one other policeman survived.

One group fled to the local cemetery, whose surrounding stone walls withstood the pressure of thousands of tons of mud and debris, diverting

towns of Copacabana, where he found his family, unhurt.

In human terms, the Nevado del Ruiz eruption was among recorded history's worst such disasters—and one of the worst natural catastrophes ever to befall Latin America, including the twin eruptions that claimed the lives of 7,000 Mexico City residents in September. Scientists said that Nevado del Ruiz represented the deadliest volcanic eruption anywhere since 1902, when Mount Pelee erupted on the Caribbean island of Martinique, killing 30,000 residents of the town of St. Pierre

on the slopes of Nevada del Ruiz. But the eruption spread dramatically beyond the path of the mud avalanche. A dark cloud of volcanic ash stretched as far as the Venezuelan border 500 km northeast, shrouding tons of dust over the Colombian countryside and an American jet returning to its base at Bogotá from Miami was forced to divert to the city of Cali, 25 minutes away, because of the eruption. Dead pilot Fernando Corvino "Smoke was reaching us at 30,000 feet. The cabin was filled with smoke, and I had to ask the passengers to use oxygen masks."

Volcano specialists said that the mountain has been active since 1874, but added that they had not expected a major explosion. In fact, the volcano had not erupted with such force since 1850, when it was witnessed by awestruck Spanish explorers passing through the area. Until last week recent eruptions had been limited to steam and ash. In effect, said Darrell Reed, deputy chief of the U.S. Geological Survey's Office of Earthquakes, Volcanoes and Engineering, Nevada del Ruiz was "clearing out its throat" by spilling old ash. Reed likened the volcano's behavior in recent weeks to that of Mount St. Helens, in Washington state, in the months prior to its eruption on May 18, 1980, a disaster that killed 60 people and devastated 150 square miles.

Even as Colombia's President Belisario Betancor, who toured the region by helicopter, declared the region a disaster area, others asked searching questions about whether the human tragedy could have been averted. Survivor Ulises Molano Ramirez told reporters that government officials had warned them last week there was no immediate danger to local residents even after Nevado del Ruiz began to belch steam and ash on Wednesday. Ramirez ignored the assurance and fled with his family. Although they survived, Ramirez's six brothers and their son, who stayed behind, were all swept away in the avalanche. Other survivors complained that some local officials had even discouraged them from leaving when the first minor eruptions began.

Tragically, Colombian and American authorities had only just begun to develop strategies for the disaster zone when Nevado del Ruiz exploded. Scientists had drawn heated maps depicting possible lava flow routes. A network of seismic warning stations dotted the peak to monitor movements inside the volcano. But experts declared that even if they were aware of volcanic activity, it would have been difficult to predict last week's tragedy. Explained Dr. Richard Hobert of the U.S. Geo-

logical Survey volcanic hazards prediction project "Volcanology is still a young science." Added France's leading expert on volcanoes, Hervé Thieffry: "There were probably things to do, but a lot of experience was necessary to foresee this." At week's end, an exhausted President Betancor said after touring the stricken region, "Colombians have not realized the true magnitude of the tragedy, and now we will have to face the numerous problems of health, orphans, widows and people left alone in this world." But as aid began arriving

both from abroad and from within Colombia, Oscar Mejía, the head of civil defense in Chiriquina, declared: "Colombia will lift itself up and will give a helping hand to the brothers of Tlalima and Cadda [survivors]. We are capable of overcoming this tragedy." But for the wretched survivors of the Armero disaster, the task of rebuilding their shattered lives seemed immense. Noted the Red Cross's Daguer: "Armors doesn't exist any more."

—JARED MITCHELL with newspaper-collecting reports



A victim in Armero: A cry for the world's help that came too late for the victims in the valley of death.

Fernando Daguer told Colombian officials from the stricken town. "We were not even able to tell if they were men or women; they were just a mass of grey." Priests proclaimed the devastation (see concentrated ground) so that the desert living could leave the dead in their muddy graves and search for survivors. But the mud hampered rescue efforts. Three days after the eruption, about 500 survivors remained trapped outside of Armero in a lake of mud too soft for helicopters to land.

Even as the horror and destruction, rescuers discovered miraculous happenings. Some residents scrambled up trees to avoid the advancing sea of mud, clinging to the topmost branches

the current around it. Armero's hospital, which stands on high ground, escaped much of the destruction and was able to treat hundreds of injured who staggered in. Many of them were stripped naked by the force of the lava, then clanked in layers of mud and clay. Another confidant, José Martínez, recounted how he fled from a truck when the lava struck, sweeping him up along with the truck, which was carrying his wife and children. "I saw houses crumble," he said. "Cars and electric pylons [were] carried away as if they were toys. I grabbed what I could and drifted for hours until the current eased." Martínez then walked for 10 km with a broken arm to the

Piñero under a boiling wave of dust, steam and gas. The most destructive volcanic blast ever recorded occurred on the Dutch East Indies island of Krakatoa, now part of Indonesia, in 1883, where a volcano exploded with the force of 30 hydrogen bombs, killing 36,380 people and wiping out 164 villages.

Last week residents of nearby Chiriquina were spared the scale of destruction Armero suffered. Although its 70,000 residents reside only 10 km from the volcano, the death toll was limited to about 1,000. The community escaped major damage because it perched above the valleys and gullies that carried the mud and debris.

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A deadly grab for power

Martial music broke in over Liberia's Radio NTA, shortly after 6 a.m. on Nov. 12. "Patronize forces as of now have seized power," announced Gen. Thomas Kormoko, "to liberate the country from fear and brutality." The former commander of Liberia's armed forces, Kormoko had been living in exile since 1983. But he

returned to the West African nation last week to launch the prodemocratic, laying siege to the mansion of President Samuel Doe, capturing several government officials and calling on Doe's forces to surrender. They did so such thing after 23 hours of fierce fighting, reportedly involving artillery and machine guns, another voice came

over the radio—this one belonging to Doe himself. "I take this opportunity," declared the president, "to inform the nation that the coup has failed."

Three days later Doe reported that his men had shot and killed Kormoko and placed his bullet-riddled body on display at army barracks in Monrovia, the capital. By week's end, Doe seemed firmly in control of the nation of 3.1 million. The government announced that 10 rebel soldiers and the loyalist troops had been killed. But as radio broadcasters appealed urgently for blood donors, it appeared that the final casualty toll would be far higher, one spokesman said that he had seen truckloads of bodies being driven through the city.

Soldiers also looted out of rebel supporters, some of whom had rushed joyfully into the streets at news of the coup. The troops looted homes, rounded up members of the opposition Liberia Action Party and launched the party's headquarters as Doe warned that anyone caught breaking the dusk-to-dawn curfew would suffer the same fate as Kormoko. Kormoko, 32, was one of the 17 soldiers who helped Doe seize power in 1980, murdering President William Tubman and ending 130 years of virtual one-party rule. But Kormoko's relations with Doe eventually soured. In 1983 Doe accused him of plotting a coup, sending his old friend into exile in Baltimore, Md.

It was not until this year that conditions ripened for Kormoko's attempt. Doe had pledged to restore civilian rule, and Washington, using its \$60-million-a-year aid package as leverage, finally pressured him into calling elections. Doe promptly agreed three years—to satisfy the constitutional requirement that presidential candidates be 35 or older. Although Doe claimed victory last month with 51 per cent of the vote, observers said the elections were plainly rigged. By then, Liberian agents were asserting neighboring nations for suspected involvement.

In the aftermath of last week's failed attempt, Doe fired his armed forces commander, Brig-Gen. Maurice Ziah, prompting speculation that he may have played a role in the insurrection. The fate of many of the captured rebels remained uncertain. Justice Minister Jenkins Scott appeared on television with bed-sores, infected, he said, by the enemy. But Scott implied that the government would have mercy on rank-and-file rebels. That was odd comfort to the coup makers, after Doe's takeover five years ago has more than 55 cabinet members to stake on a public beach—and calmly shot them to death.

—BOB LEVIN with LYNN DEGUET in Africa

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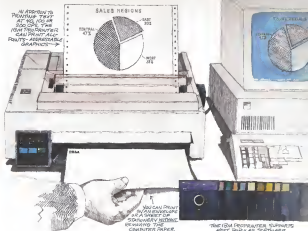
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Continental's confidence

The elevator doors slide open to reveal a spacious, well-appointed interior which is designed to resemble the inside of a luxurious mansion. But last week the executive offices of the Continental Bank of Canada on Adelaide Street in downtown Toronto were unusually quiet. The bank's top executives were all out calling on their major clients, reassuring them that the Continental can reverse a serious loss of deposits which began in mid-October when the Montreal-based Mercantile Bank of Canada was forced to merge with the National Bank of Canada, also of Montreal. The announcement of the Continental's bold strategy—code-named Operation Confidence—in a \$2.9-billion support package from the Bank of Canada and the country's six largest banks which was announced on Oct. 31. According to Continental's president, David Lewis, two weeks into the bank's campaign to coax back its depositors, there were already signs of success. Said Lewis, "Operation Confidence is working much faster than we had hoped. But I am not going to jump the gun and declare that our problems are over."

Still, the bank saw the first clear sign of improvement last week. More than \$100 million was deposited at the Continental this week, compared to the loss of \$100 million in deposits at the Continental in the week before. "The situation is still in flux, but obviously I am delighted," he added. "The situation is still in flux, but obviously I am delighted." Indeed, the Continental's fight to weather the crisis of confidence that has surrounded Canada's largest banks since the late 1980s is more than a battle of numbers. Last week Maclean's learned more details of what is turning out to be a unique event in Canadian corporate history—a high-stakes battle by a group of bankers to convince depositors, politicians, civil servants and others to help save a financial institution by reversing a psychology of fear.

The Continental's plan of trying to stop the deposit drain by tackling the root cause of the problem—the confidence crisis—in a very polite and aggressive manner was developed by Lewis himself. A balding 48-year-old who renews the banking industry's



Lewis: I am not going to jump the gun and declare that our problems are over.

uniform of blue pinstripes and black shoes, Lewis is known as a down-to-earth banker. When he called a press conference on Oct. 31 and made public the full extent of the Continental's deposit loss—\$1.2 billion within two months—some members of the financial industry expressed surprise at his casual attitude. But the confidence on Bay Street, said Edward Nadon, chairman of Toronto-based investment dealer Wood Gundy Ltd., is that Lewis's forthright approach in announcing the support package was the right one. Added Nadon: "Once confidence begins to erode and you want to restore it, you have to come up with a blockbuster announcement—or else the public will start second-guessing you."

Still, many banking analysts say that the Continental's situation remains serious and that the next three months—the bank's \$1.5-billion line of credit with the Big Six will expire on Feb. 1—will be the critical period. Analysts say that establishment figures clearly want to end the crisis of confidence. But they add that Lewis must turn it around in a few months to avoid a merger.

Financial experts say that the Continental's deposit drain is the result of actions by large institutional depositors, such as corporations, governments and pension fund managers—not ordinary Canadians. Indeed, as Canada's seventh-largest bank with assets of \$62 billion, the Continental, which advertises itself as the place



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where the "smart money" goes, is under pressure because of its large deposits as its main source of funds. About 85 per cent of the Continental's deposits are over \$100,000—well above the federal deposit insurance limit of \$100,000. And since September checks have withdrawn about 25 per cent of the bank's deposits because they were worried about losing their money if the bank failed.

The turning point in the bank's campaign may have been reached on Nov. 5, when Toronto Mayor Arthur Eggle-

ton said that he would review the city's deposits with the Continental. On Nov. 1 Toronto's financial officials had withdrawn \$15 million from the bank because they were concerned about its solvency. But after meeting with Lewis the mayor said that he was convinced the bank was sound and that Toronto would continue to bank with the Continental.

Last week, in interviews with top-level financial officials of municipalities and corporations, it appeared that the attitude toward the Continental is slowly improving. Jack Pickard, the finance commissioner for Metropolitan Toronto, for one, says that he has no intention of pulling Metro's \$51.3 million in deposits out of the Continental. For his part, Ronald Brooks, commissioner of finance for Toronto, Ont., said that following conversations with City of Toronto and Metro Toronto officials, he had decided to leave \$2 million on deposit with the Continental.

Media: "The pencil boys will start second-guessing"

Details to issue a statement of support. Although at week's end as formal statement had been made, Nancy Belkovich, an executive assistant in Alberta's treasury department, said, "We have had deposits at the Continental in the past, we do now and we will continue to do so in the future."

By late last week it was still too early to gauge the impact of another critical element in the bank's confidence-building campaign—the attempt to convince money market traders to resume activity in Continental's short-term securities. Bob James, a portfolio

manager of Toronto-based investment leader Davidson Securities, Pinedale, Ont., told *Money*: "We are trading Continental paper again. It will take time to restore the market for the bank's paper, but we think the trend is growing."

Before the crisis the Continental obtained 35 per cent of its deposits through the money market, which is a trading system for corporations, governments and other large investors that want to lend or borrow huge sums of cash for a year or less. Each day Continental's money traders telephone institutional investors and ask them if they want to deposit money at the bank by purchasing interest-paying securities called certificates of deposit or bearer demand notes.

Less frequently, the Continental's traders make deposits by asking the money market salaried at the leading investment houses in Toronto. If their clients are interested in buying Continental securities. If the salaried know of a buyer, a "same day" deal can be quickly arranged. Sometimes, the money market trader purchases the Continental security directly and holds it for sale on the following day. Usually, the trader finances his purchase by obtaining an overnight bank loan, using the security as collateral for the loan.

McGowan has learned that as the confidence crisis escalated, only Toronto-based Wood Gundy Ltd., continued to regularly trade Continental securities. For one thing, most money market traders could no longer find institutional buyers. And those traders who wanted to purchase Continental securities themselves found that most banks no longer accepted the securities as loan collateral, leaving the dealer unable to finance the purchase.

After two weeks of negotiations, on Nov. 7 at a meeting between Continental executives and top officials from Bay Street's 19 leading investment houses, the dealers agreed to tell their money market salaried to start trading Continental notes with their clients. The Continental's executives also told the dealers that during negotiations with the big banks over the support package they had urged the other bankers to accept Continental securities as loan collateral. Said Ross MacKinnon, money market vice-president and manager for wealth management at BNP Paribas in Toronto: "The Continental's people told us, 'If you have confidence that the support package will work, help us out by marketing our paper.'" The financial community seems prepared to do just that.

—MICHAEL SALTER with SANDY PIFE in Toronto

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—MICHAEL SALTER with SANDY PIFE in Toronto



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Carty: a bold bid to form a second national carrier to challenge Air Canada

A battle for the skies

For executives of Canada's airline industry, Ottawa's decision last May to ease routing and fare restrictions was a signal of an approaching new competitiveness in the industry. The first move to position his firm for the new market was Donald Carty, the dynamic 59-year-old president of Canadian Pacific Air Lines Ltd. of Vancouver, Canada's second-largest airline. In August, 1984, Carty purchased Eastern Provincial Airways Ltd. for \$80 million in order to strengthen his airline's presence in Atlantic Canada. Last summer CP negotiators won contract concessions from disgruntled employees that cut operating costs by about five per cent. But last week Carty found himself in the midst of his boldest venture yet, a \$40-million struggle for control of Montreal-based Nordair Ltd., Canada's second-largest regional airline after Pacific Western Airlines Ltd., of Calgary (PWA).

Nordair has two particular attractions for CP. For one thing, it would add 11 Boeing 737s to CP's fleet of 35 737s. For another, it has extensive routes in the critical Ontario and Quebec markets, where CP offers only limited service. A merger would give CP a full domestic network, making it the first real challenger to Air Canada, the giant of the industry with 80 per cent of all domestic capacity.

But Carty is not alone in bidding for Nordair. The provincially owned, Mon-

tréal-based Quebecor also wants to buy the company to extend its route structure and add more aircraft to its fleet of six 737s. The airline has the backing of some key Montreal shareholders, including the formidable Caisse de dépôt et placement de Québec, the \$80-billion provincial pension fund. But most industry observers doubt Quebecor's ability to turn back CP's bid, although many suspect that it could, in concert with the Caisse, delay the merger through a lengthy series of court challenges of a complicated shareholders' voting trust.

Until the deregulation process began, only federally owned Air Canada was allowed to operate a full transcontinental network linking most Canadian cities. On many routes Air Canada's only competitors were regional air carriers, like PWA, Nordair or Quebecor. CP's domestic service was tightly restricted by Ottawa, particularly before 1978, when the airline received permission to increase the frequency of its flights and, for the first time, to fly east of Montreal. Even today, only a fleet of 24 Boeing 737s rivals that of CP, although CP also owns 12 wide-bodied Boeing 747s and DC-10s used mainly on international flights.

But recent U.S. experience has made many Canadian airlines nervous. When Washington deregulated the U.S. air travel industry in 1978, many airlines were forced into mergers, were bought out or declared bankrupt. The

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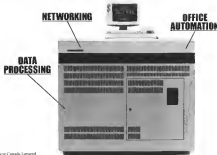




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end result—the industry is still sorting itself out—is expected to be five or six major transnational carriers competing head to head in every major centre, supported by new, small feeder airlines serving smaller towns.

Analysts say that they expect a similar pattern to develop in Canada. "Canada does not lend itself to a lot of players," said Harold Walker, a Toronto-based analyst with Nesbitt Burns & Co. of Montreal. Experts say that Canada will end up with roughly three transnational networks: Air Canada, CP and perhaps a low provided by Edmonton-based Westair International Ltd., which currently specializes in low-cost charter flights. As well, PWA and Quebecair may merge to form a domestic network spanning three-quarters of the country and serving 121 communities.

Indeed, the two firms signed up a route-sharing agreement on Oct. 31 under which they will co-ordinate fares and schedules beginning next spring. But some scepticism says that the accord will come into effect only if Quebecair surrenders control of Nordair. Still, more than half of the staff members of Nordair, who own nine per cent of the airline through Participation Nordair Inc., support the CP bid.

Nordair has consistently rebuffed Quebecair's attempts to buy it for at least 30 years. And many analysts say that their rivalry would preclude any attempt to merge them effectively. For their part, Nordair officials say that they regard Quebecair as a poorly run operation. Quebecair lost more money in each of the four years before the Quebec government took it over in 1982, for \$18.2 million. Since then, it has recovered government subsidies totalling \$79 million, and the government has promised to cover losses up to \$12 million a year to June 30, 1985. In contrast, it has made small but steady profits—\$2.5 million from revenue of \$180 million in 1984.

The battle for Nordair will not be the last step in the reshaping of the airline industry. Indeed, many analysts predict that Quebecair may form a link of some kind with PWA—and possibly PWA will buy it outright. PWA's vice-president of marketing, Terry Francis, does not rule out a PWA bid for some or all of Quebecair. If that happens, the Quebec government will be elevated then it may be forced to put a price on Quebecair's desire for a truly Quebec-based airline. One way or another, says Tony Pines, an analyst with Montreal Young Wier Ltd. in Toronto, "you can be sure Quebecair will not survive in its present form."

—MARC CLARK in Toronto with ENDS
WALLACE in Montreal

BUSINESS WATCH

Tough language from big banks

By Peter C. Newman

Should Ottawa ever require the monetary clout of the major chartered banks for another rescue package, it may find them looking the other way.

"The government's position of paying everybody else back, including the subordinated debenture holders, but not us—though we were asked to come in and help—is really unreasonable," one told by Bill Mulholland, the Bank of Montreal chairman, who contributed \$11.5 million to the Canadian Commercial Bank (CCB) bailout. "I am not expected to give away the shareholders' funds just for the fun of it. We may not have anticipated exactly the sequence of events but we created or received a written commitment that we would be treated like depositors and that if we didn't get back a hundred cents we would at least get back a substantial part of our commitment. Now we turn out to be way down at the bottom of the pecking order. It will be very difficult for us to do something like this again. Should they need us another time, most responsible people are going to say, 'I just can't justify doing that.'"

There is nothing thinly veiled about that threat, and Mulholland reminded his fellow bank chairmen in using such tough language to reinforce Ottawa's attitude. Like his fellow bankers Mulholland feels that he was asked to act on inadequate information. "We saw some light in the bailout," he says now. "One of the bankers at least had the object of the exercise was to buy time for another step—one that never took place. We were not looking very happily at the prospect of the bank closing that Monday morning [March 25], immediately after we had asked at what Quebec got what. Nobody liked the possibilities they saw of a secondary impact on western trust companies, credit unions and co-ops. If you set that kind of phone fire going, you have real problems."

The second step that Mulholland mentions which never happened involved merging of the founding banks with their healthy elder brothers. The merger didn't happen, partly because it turned out the CCB and the Toronto Bank had no assets worth merging with the deposit base of the two Alberta banks had been plundered beyond redemption. The Bank of Montreal chairman blames their downfall

on the lack of standards applied to lateral bank audits but is nervous about some of the proposed remedies. "One route people are talking about is a big bureaucracy of auditors in Ottawa. I haven't heard anybody, even the bureaucrats, who think that's a very good idea, partly because there are a limited number of qualified people available, and moving them around wouldn't really accomplish much. The banks themselves should be constantly



Mulholland, not a thinly veiled threat

reviewing assets, and regulators should simply be making sure they do it—without doing it for them."

While Mulholland has not lost his faith in the Bank of Canada's government, Gerald Bony, he does admit that "the governor's role was a little ambiguous in this whole affair. As he has currently pointed out, he has no mandate for bank regulation, he isn't an independent source of information. He has no people who come and conduct examinations. He could ring you up on

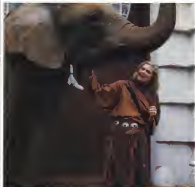
the telephone and ask you something if he wanted to, but he doesn't."

Mulholland is unflatteringly opposed to Barbara McDougall's Green Paper, which he believes will increase the potential for abuse through self-dealing and possible conflicts of interest. He believes the top priority at the moment should be to ensure the equality of regulatory requirements for all financial institutions and advocates reform to the Canada Deposit Insurance Corp. so that it remains risk sensitive instead of perpetuating its status as an agency of government guarantees. "I am afraid I do not have as much faith as the authors of the Green Paper in the first-footedness and accuracy of regulators, even under the best of circumstances."

"I think, in the twinkling of an eye," Mulholland says, "we could make money from all the bloodbaths that could be put on the case and I would be no far ahead of them that there would never be a hope of unravelling the trail. With electronic technology money can be moved through Winnipeg, Toronto, New York, Miami, the Cayman Islands, the Bahamas and into Switzerland, all in one day, and I defy anyone to track that. The best thing to do is to create a structure in which no one has to depend on the open market the rubbers."

Mulholland is aware of the effects of the postmortem readjustments he sees. "At the moment," he says, "money is flowing out of Canada's smaller banks into the big banks, and we don't need it. We have no money liquidity, all we do is pay a big interest rate. It would be much better off if there were some healthy little banks. As long as some of them are successful and thriving, there are obvious signs of bigness which you cannot be served with any credibility. Where they disappear, narrowness flourishes. If we did not have them, we would have to invent them. Years ago a fellow came to see me about starting one of these banks. I said, 'Good luck to you. You will be an advertisement if you succeed. The last thing any of the big banks are going to do is to lay a finger on you!'"

The fact is that from now on it will be very much harder, if not impossible, to build up small banks from scratch. Mulholland is even optimistic about the system of which he is a leading defender. "The current situation is different, we're not banks," he concluded. "It's a terrible price to pay for the infirmities of a few."



Shreeve and Shaver: 'I, I, I, ah-ah-ah...' and something for the kids

T he beloved storybook elephant Babar, who has been described as lovelier than a unicorn, is set to star in his first Canadian animated television film, *Babar and Father Christmas*, based on the story by Jeanine Sarrailh and illustrated by Jean de Brunhoff, the originator of the popular picture-book series. Produced by MTV, the film, set in the fictional village of Aukland and set in the Ottawa area, will be released for Christmas next year. The Brunhoffs' son, Laurent, who took over the 54-year-old series when his father died in 1977, wrote and illustrated most of the 54 books, a series that has been a constant and major force in the half-hour film, which will feature Babar's wife, Celeste, and psychopomps poppets Pop, Flora, Alexander and Arthur. Babar, who is 77, says that the way of the Polar character is based on the way people, he admits that "they are combatives"—and added that Babar's stoic way of life is owed to be a truly African human society. In fact, the only African character in the film is Babar's village hunter, a collector of Babar's ivory tusks named Colonel Moko. The *Lady*, will not be in the film.

Working with both children and animals does not bother busy movie actress Helen Shaver (*The Color*).

I may not be as much magic or his sense of humor that landed *Snobs* magazine/stand-up comic **Shawn Thompson**. If the sense of humor of magazine editor **John O'Leary** and the Canadian knitter **Steven Grant** on the daytime TV show *The Gladys Knight* on the CTV network, where his character made a steamy debut last week. But the show's writers and producers are taking full advantage of Thompson's fear of slight-of-hand and macabre terms like "corpse" and "corpse" and "corpse" have been adding comedy routine to my menu, and soon I'll get to do a magic act with seven pages of macabre." Thompson says practicing hand moves as a magician has given him a great sense of discipline, and he decided to approach to comedy as a magician. "I'm not a magician," he says. "I'm a comedian." As the host of Toronto's *SNL* TV's hot new series *Shawn!*, Thompson will need both his sense of discipline and humor working on both sides of the border has played him into a comedian's nightmare. "It means I can't have a name of my own," he says. "And I'm working eight days a week."

His rambling disclosures are irritating, and his bluest pronouncements can anger TV viewers. But sports broadcaster **Howard Cosell** has rarely been dull—and despite the impression of his new book's title, *I Never Played the Game*, the 67-year-old lawyer is still batting a thousand. In his best seller Cosell criticizes corruption in professional sports, fan violence and "Jack-



such a controversial figure. "I took blows that seemed incomprehensible because never had I been indicted for rape or any of the major felonies. What had I done?" Then he added that the success of his book means that "all that garbage has been forgotten."

Ritalin's Prince

D Charles and Diana, Princess of Wales, returned home last week after their tour of Australia and the United States to an ecstatic welcome by the British press. Gushed the *London Daily Star*: "They have conducted one of the most successful royal tours of all time. They have silenced the republicans of Australia and dinned the dozing Americans."

U.S. donors included President Ronald Reagan, who referred to the 54-year-old princess as "Princess David," then as "Princess Diana" at the first of the major annual events, a White House dinner-dance. For her part, Nancy Reagan "dressed down" while the royal couple was in Washington, catbating the princess. Criticism in Australia that the "dowdy," had a res from Britain to wear an

Some were not so close. Jack Kent Cooke, barn owner of the Washington football team, who turned

Dietary fat intake and cholesterol

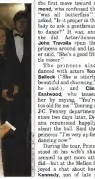


lators to lunch with Charles and Diane at the estate of financier Paul Milken because it conflicted with his desire to watch his team play the Dallas Cowboys. Cooke, 71, explained, "It's a matter of priorities."

Although Diana's White House dinner partner, ballet star **Michael Baryshnikov**, could not dance because of recent knee surgery, she had several replacements—even though she had to make the first move toward singer **Ned Diamond**, who confessed that his stomach "was all betterfess." The princess asked, "Is it proper in this country for

Kennedy and Jacqueline Onassis, and urged Kennedy to consider taking up polo as a sport. And on the last day Charles had a chance to shine when he helped his team to an 11-10 victory in a polo match at Florida's world-rank Falm, Beach Polo and Country Club.

On the final evening, Charles and Di-



It has stomach
The prisoners
country for a

couple, several of the invited guests made a point of not going. But the party was well-attended. Among the guests were comedians Bob Hope, actor Gregory Peck and TV's newswoman Dinahsyar wife Joan Collins, 58, who had been married and failed to get an invitation to the White House ball. Although press reports said that Collins doesn't like Celeste, the princess managed to have an awkward instant in the actress, at a British Embassy reception earlier, when members of the press were presented to the royal couple. Collins sought out a reporter from the London Daily Mail to pump him about Collins's wedding the previous week to Swedish industrialist Peter Sven, 58. After hearing the details, the princess said, "I was sitting at her age. Husband number 4."

—Edited by MARY HEYEN

Dark clouds over the Grey Cup

As the champions of the eastern and western conferences of the Canadian Football League prepare this week for Sunday's Grey Cup game in Montreal, much more is at stake than which team will win the Tard Cup. Although accustomed to optimism, the CFL—once considered a national bond on the level of the railways—now faces the severest challenges of its warred and storied history. In 1985

constituted. Last week in Calgary the Stampede, after losing \$1 million in 1983, announced a novel refinancing plan which seeks interest-free loans from the private sector by Dec. 15. Said Stampede president Patrick Peacock: "Yes, it's a short date. But we need to know quickly if it's going to work." This week in Montreal, Concordes chairman Edmund Ricard plans to meet with his partner, Bogenman, to

discuss 656 million in interest-free loans to purchase government bonds. The interest from the bonds would be used as collateral on a \$5-million bank loan and a \$1-million line of credit. If the interest-free loans are not raised by Dec. 15, the team's directors will decide whether to attempt to sell the club or fold it. Said Peacock: "If the financial plan doesn't work, we have to look at alternatives. The only one I



Ottawa and Montreal in a poorly attended playoff game: falling attendance, mounting debts and two possible exits

only two teams—the B.C. Lions and the Winnipeg Blue Bombers—made a profit, while the other seven lost a total of almost \$7 million. With only three teams winning more games than they lost, overall attendance was down for the second consecutive year, by three per cent. Not most critically, two teams—the Calgary Stampede and Montreal Concordes—must either be refinanced, sold or folded. Said Ralph Belsa, president of the Toronto Argonauts: "Over the years we have always had the odd team in trouble but we seem to be out. This is the most severe crisis in my 35 years in the league because now two teams are in trouble."

Indeed, Cup television viewers across the country and the spectators at Olympic Stadium may witness the last game of the CFL as it is currently

ing magnate Charles Bronfman, to decide if the group will continue to finance an enterprise that has lost \$12 million since they constituted the bankrupt franchise in 1982. Said Ricard: "We are well aware of the fact that if the franchise in Montreal were to disappear it would have a disastrous impact on the league. We were committed to three years; it has now been four. Whether or not we will go a fifth, I don't know."

The Stampede averaged fewer than 15,000 fans per game this season compared to 21,500 in 1980. The team projects an operating loss of \$1.65 million. Its reserve fund is exhausted and the club will need \$6 million to operate in 1986. Last week the team, which like the other western clubs is community-owned, asked local corporations for

foresee at this stage is to see if anyone wants to buy the team."

That may also be the last alternative in Montreal. The Concordes will lose \$2 million this year on an operating budget of \$5 million. Bronfman and partners Hugh Hallward, Larne Webster and Sidney Maslin, with Brasco Ltd. president Ricard as club chairman, created the Concordes from the rubble of the Alouettes in 1982. After 18 months under the ownership of Vancouver entrepreneur Nelson Skalbania the Alouettes were bankrupt with \$1.5 million in debts. Bronfman and his partners made a three-year commitment, anticipating to lose \$4.5 million in the first two years and to break even in the third. In fact, the team lost \$29 million. At the end of three years Bronfman's partners con-

they their financial obligations and maintained a one-third share of the team losses, through Ricard, assumed a one-third share of the team and, with Brownman, half of the financial obligations. Ricard told Maclean's last week, "The only difference between Skabbin's ownership of the Alouettes and our partnership is that we have paid all our bills and we don't owe anybody any money." But the losses have been daunting. Said Ricard, "Frankly, it's not that the players weren't offered to sustain those losses, it's just that you have to be able to justify your investments to shareholders. And we had intended to be in for three years only—it was not our intention to be in football forever." Although a decision to buy or to sell will not be made until this week, Ricard added, "Nobody has knocked on our door."

While the Calgary and Montreal activities are critical, the conditions of the other franchises, although stable, are not healthy. The B.C. Lions, playing in the league's only domed stadium, B.C. Place, finished first in the West during the regular season for the third year in a row and made a small profit. The defending Grey Cup champion Winnipeg Blue Bombers had another successful season on the field and at the gate. The team drew 235,763 fans to eight regular season and two exhibition games, 5,642 more than the previous club attendance record set in 1984. The Bombers have few doubts the club deficit is \$400,000. Said Winnipeg general manager Paul Robson, "We are not in trouble."

The red ink spilled on the only other league team with a winning record, the Edmonton Eskimos in Edmonton's total attendance of 211,500 was down 30,000 over last year. The team made only \$233,000 last year and it will lose about \$280,000 in 1985. In Regina the Saskatchewan Roughriders lost about \$300,000 in 1984 and will exceed that this year. The team has not reached the minimum players' union 170,000 and only about 12,000 spectators watched its final game of 1984. Said club president Keith Critchley, "We really have reached a crisis. Our fans have reached the point where they want to wait and see, and that is dangerous."

An explosion of 25,000-seat Ivor Wynne Stadium in Hamilton would have inflicted few casualties this season. Owner Harold Ballard's Tiger-Cats averaged only 14,500 spectators at home games on the way to a first-place season finish in the East with eight wins and eight losses. The team made about \$4,000 fans at each game to break even. Said Hamilton general manager Joe Zagar, "We have not averaged in the 20,000 range since 1981."

In each of the past five years we have lost between \$200,000 and \$1 million. This year we will lose over \$1 million." Said Zagar, "I guess the only thing you can do is win all your games. If they don't come after that, maybe people just don't want it."

In Toronto an average crowd of about 30,000 watched Curling O'Keefe Ltd.'s 1984 Grey Cup champion Argonauts finish in last place in the East.



Peapack: to sell or to lose the club

The team needs close to 34,000 fans for each game to break even. Since 1981 the Argonauts have been losing between \$200,000 and \$1 million each year. According to Burns, the club has "no intention whatsoever of discontinuing. We're not panicking. We're looking at a sport that's been around for over 100 years. If this is not a heritage, if this is not what the people want, then, fine, we'll have to live with it."

The situation is similar in Ottawa. Total attendance of 169,473 for Rough Rider home games this year was \$4,325 fewer than the record number of spectators the team attracted in 1975. Said

Don Bunkin: "What people would come out in crowds for in the past just doesn't seem to be enough." Indeed, the Ottawa-Carleton Board of Trade organized a "Pack the Park Day" campaign for Ottawa's Sunnyside home game. The energetic effort, including a breakfast for 1,000 fans, attracted a season-high crowd of 14,909. But Lansdowne Park was far from packed. There were still 5,289 empty seats. For the next home game there were 16,338 unpaid tickets.

At the helm of the troubled league—losses last year were about \$6 million—in commissioner Douglas Mitchell, a 46-year-old former player and lawyer. Like his predecessors, Mitchell has read countless CFL playbooks. And like his predecessors, Mitchell has read them with amusement. The commissioner told Maclean's last week, "If the media were running the league, we would have been out of business 100 years ago." Mitchell noted that the CFL employs, either directly or indirectly, close to 6,000 Canadians and contributes about \$150 million to the economy. Said Mitchell, "In the 1984 season we had two teams make money and seven lost money, but our total losses combined were less than the losses of many individual professional sports teams in baseball, hockey and basketball. For some reason people don't know that we lose less as a league than some people lose as a team." Mitchell also points out that although attendance dropped overall this season, "Saskatchewan was up 7,000 over 1984 until the last two games, when they were eliminated from playoffs and they lost that edge. And overall, we would have been ahead of last year if it had not been for the Calgary situation."

Acknowledging that the Calgary "situation" is critical, Mitchell declared, "I guarantee one thing: There will be a football team in Calgary next year, without a bit of a doubt." And although admission of 17 CFL games this season attracted audiences of more than a million each, Mitchell concedes that the league needs a more competitive, entertaining product to win back its fans—and to survive. It is a statement that Governor chairman Richard Shantz, 48, now there are three good teams in the CFL—B.C., Edmonton and Winnipeg—and the rest of us are struggling like mad. Unless we find a way to improve the product it can't go on for much longer."

—EAL GUNN AND ANDREW WELSH, SMITH in Montreal; MICHAEL ROSE in Ottawa; DARRY SOUL in Winnipeg; DAVID ROSE in Regina; BILL COBURN in Calgary; CHAELAN REYNOLDS in Edmonton; and SHANE JACKSON in Vancouver

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University students who cannot write

For 800 students at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, the most important test of their college careers will take place in a sparse lecture theatre next week. There, in two sittings on Nov. 28 and Nov. 29, each student must write a 400-word essay on such topics as physical fitness or the purpose of a university. Their performance during the two-hour examination will likely determine their academic futures. The reason: failure will prevent them from registering for more courses—and they demonstrate that they can write understandable prose containing few misspelled words or mistakes in grammar. Declared test director Lorna McCullum: "Students who fail have serious problems communicating in a clear, acceptable fashion." Added Caroline Nevill, a student council vice-president on the campus which has 20,000 full-time students: "We even have English majors facing expulsion. Nearly everyone has one or two friends affected."

Administrators at the province's four universities first introduced a



McCullum after an acceptable fashion

standard test in 1980 after they received numerous complaints from employers about graduates' inadequate writing skills. Then, with university professors criticizing the poor quality of writing among freshmen, the University of Alberta made the examination mandatory two years ago. Now freshmen have to pass the examination, entitled the Alberta Universities Writing Competency Test, within two years of gaining admission. To that end, the University of Alberta offers a remedial writing course with 18 hours of instruction for a \$93 fee and it allows students to make up to four attempts at the test. The need for remedial measures is clear: during the past two years about 35 per cent of the 8,000 freshmen taking the test failed in their first attempt. But some students and professors on the Edmonton campus argue that the university should follow the example of such institutes as the University of Toronto. There, students who have failed the competency exam have the choice of repeating the test or taking what they prefer call "boonchard English"—a basic grammar and composition course.

Meanwhile, the 800 students are the first group to face "discontinuation of their studies" if they fail to meet the University of Alberta's continental requirements—even after they have gained admission. Among them are 41 foreign-born students, 83 aspiring teachers from the faculty of education and some students who have managed to finish their first-year studies without passing the test. Declared Amy Zelenak, an assistant vice-president at the university: "They have run out of time." But others on campus argue that expulsion—however temporary—is too drastic a step. One of them, sociology lecturer Arthur Davis, has advised students to hire a lawyer if they fail and if the university tries to "derecruit" them.

English professor Gerald McCaughey said that he doubts the validity of the test results themselves. Declared McCaughey: "Too much is hanging on too little with this test. Last year half my freshmen students who wrote the test and failed got above-average marks in my literature course. There doesn't seem to be a good correlation there."

Still, the University of Alberta's test regularly produces a failure rate that is almost twice as high as a similar examination conducted by the Univer-

sity of Toronto. There, 15 per cent of last year's freshman class—approximately 3,000 students—failed the English proficiency test before taking the test again or moving on to remedial English. And essays submitted on recent tests clearly show that many students need help. One, trying to argue that more students should become politicians, wrote: "Today's system were federal, local and provincial governments are always at fear to be removed if they don't produce increase in profits" (thought for tomorrow's fugitives).

University of Alberta officials—including president Myer Horowitz—have said little in public about the decline in writing skills, but many of them say privately that inadequate high school instruction has produced increasingly illiterate students. And last fall, the provincial government prompted tant support for that criticism by overhauling the secondary school curriculum program. Among the changes beginning in 1986 junior high school teachers will have to devote at least 65 per cent of their time to class—a 10-per-cent increase—in such core subjects as English, mathematics and science. And students in Grades 10, 11 and 12 will have to take a heavier course load before winning a diploma. Among the tougher requirements these social studies programs instead of two and one more math course. At the same time, the province will raise the minimum passing grade to 50 per cent from 40 in Grades 11 and 12 and plans to replace optional courses like "advanced golf" with foreign, arts and religious education. Said Alberta Education Minister David King: "Some things that began in the early 1970s did not work as well as we hoped."

Indeed, King increased Canadian content in social studies courses in 1981 after tests showed that Alberta students had little knowledge of Canadian history. Two thirds of the 2,400 Grade 12 students tested did not know that Sir John A. Macdonald was Canada's first prime minister or the date of Confederation in 1867. But some educators say that the emphasis on basics may be misguided, and they add that educational standards have changed—not declined—in recent years. Declared Edmonton school superintendent Roger Palmer: "Maybe some students do not have the capital of Newfoundland but how important is that? They know more about atomic energy, human physiology, statistics and computer science."

Still, those high school reforms are taking place too late for the 500 students waging closer to expulsion in 1987. Instead, they are seeking a

reprieve at a joint faculty-student meeting this week. There, the General Faculty Council, an elected body representing students, faculty members and the administration, will hear presentations for alternatives to the competency test. Delegates from the Student Union and most of the faculty associations will urge the university to accept such measures of English competency as a 70-per-cent score on provincewide high-school English exams. But the Engineering Students' Society does not expect a last-minute change in university policy. As a re-

sult, the 2,200-member society will continue to hold English seminars for the 45 engineering students who have to take the test—even though most of them have already passed a mandatory English course as part of their studies. And while society president Derek Hitt says he agrees in principle with a test designed to produce more literate, articulate students, he is less pleased with the results achieved so far. Said Hitt: "A good idea administered poorly loses its validity."

—ANDREW NICKFORD is in Edmonton

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It was Canada's night to shine in the spotlight. First, such pillars of the Hollywood establishment as actor Charlton Heston and Mike Nichols, executive vice-president of Orion Pictures, helped to launch the Stratford Festival's first national American tour at the Los Angeles restaurant Le St. Germain. There a multitude of languages conveyed the celebratory to the James A. Doolittle Theatre, where they joined a sellout crowd for the Ontario company's performance of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*. After the play the cast revelled to the stark Artist Restaurant, where they were fêted by Ontario Premier David Peterson and his actress with, Shelley. Declared Nicholas Pennell, who plays Malvolio in *Twelfth Night*: "We had an audience that was generous and really with us. Tonight was a joy."

That glittering welcome in Nov. 8 was the high point of Canada Month in Los Angeles, a celebration of Canadian culture. It was also a major boost for the beleaguered Stratford Festival, which has been grappling with internal squabbles and serious financial problems for more than five years. The festival's deficit now stands at more than \$3 million. Former artistic director John Hirsch, who was succeeded by John Neville at the end of October, mounted the 12-week, \$3.5-million tour—the company's first American tour since 1970—in order to showcase Stratford south of the border. With performances of *Twelfth Night* and *King Lear* scheduled in Seattle, Chicago, Palm Beach and New Lauderdale, Fla., the festival is hoping to enhance its reputation among U.S. theatregoers, who account for 30 per cent of the audience at home.

Critics greeted the Los Angeles opening with mixed reviews, but it drew more than an audience. Included Canadian expatriates, Christopher Plummer and Lloyd Buckner. The two veteran actors appeared together 26 years ago in a Stratford performance of *Twelfth Night* under Tyrone Guthrie (later Sir Tyrone), the festival's first artistic director. Said Plummer: "I was thrilled. I think it is absolutely essential that a major company tour. For a while I was terrified that Stratford was going to fall into a regional theatre slot."

Still, the party mood in Hollywood did not entirely cloud the individuals that buffet the Shakespearean festival. Under Neville, who has successful-

ly headed Edmonton's Citadel and Halifax's Neptune theatres, Stratford is in a state of flux. More than half of the actors on the tour, as well as executive director Gerry Blundell, will not be returning to the festival. Meanwhile, the British-born actor and director is giving Stratford a controversial new day. His plans for the next season include mounting a little-known musical, Richard Rodgers's and

artistic excellence and try to cut expenditures. These goals are not necessarily exclusive."

But Hirsch, whose five-year term ended last month, told *Maclean's* in Los Angeles that he doubts that Stratford's new look will attract the crowds necessary to ease the festival's longstanding financial problems. Declared Hirsch: "Every artistic director dreams of the economic situation



Maclean, 68th Day and David Peterson, Premier: Internal squabbles and turbulence

Lorne Hart's *The Bear from Symonds*, on the main stage. Even more contentious is his decision to present *Pierrot, Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*, three relatively unfamiliar and rarely performed late Shakespearean comedies.

Neville will be fighting a trend toward smaller audiences at the festival, which has seen attendance drop from 70-per-cent capacity in 1983 to 68 per cent last year. And Neville's advancement has the support of Stratford's outgoing chairman of the board and Toronto *Life* magazine publisher Peter Herndlert. Said Herndlert: "One of the complaints of recent years is that we have been too conservative." Both Neville and Herndlert say they are confident that Stratford has achieved some financial stability. Declared Neville: "I have inherited a deficit that isn't mine and all I can do is strive for

where there is enough of a cushion to do the kind of program John Neville has planned. I say it's a hell of a risky thing to do."

For American audiences, Stratford's internal disputes are unimportant. All 19 Los Angeles performances sold out and the company has been invited back next year. And Shakespeare lovers in Chicago snugged up all of the *King Lear* tickets weeks ago. Said Peblen Wadsworth, director of the University of California (Los Angeles) Center for the Arts, which sponsored the Los Angeles leg of the tour: "Some people said we went out on a limb in committing to Stratford. But this is one of the great English-speaking theatres in the world. It is now up to Neville to maintain that reputation."

—ANN JONASSEN with VALERIE ELIA in Los Angeles



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Reopening the death pits

The still Atlantic wind blows over the southern Newfoundland outcrop of St. Lawrence, brushing the granitic stone in the community graveyards. There, at least 200 miners are buried, victims of what surviving residents call the town's "death pits" mining shafts that held 1,000 feet underground to deposits of fluorapatite. From 1922 on the mine produced countless tons of the yellow-green mineral, used primarily to get rid of impurities in steel and aluminum processing. But at the same time, radioactive radon gas from nearby limestone deposits of uranium seeped into the shafts and caused lung cancer among the miners. But the mine, which closed in 1978, may soon open again because of a spring, 1984, agreement between the provincial and federal governments—which also subsidizing the venture—and British mining company Minworth Ltd. Minworth has said that new ventilation systems will make the mine safe. And many people in the 2,000-strong community—with an unemployment rate of 90 per cent—say

that they welcome the reopening. Deceased Mayor George Doyle: "The people are interested in getting back to work."

St. Lawrence has a legacy of disaster. In 1929 a tidal wave destroyed the town's fishing fleet and by shuffling the ocean floor also destroyed fish feeding

Miners may have been exposed to radiation levels up to 30 times greater than the current limit that is allowable

grounds. As a result, when New York promoter Walter Seibert arrived in 1923 to mine the fluorapatite deposit, he found villagers—many of them living in 6 ft tents a day in government assistance—eager to work in the unventilated shafts. By 1938 many of the town's men were spending 10 to 12 hours a day mining fluorapatite under conditions so

dangerous that face masks became clogged within minutes and a miner could not see the man working next to him because of dust. Three years later Montreal-based Allan Aluminium Ltd. also began mining the site, and after Seibert closed his mine in 1967 the company bought his site for \$2 million.

By then the mine had already become a source of tragedy. Within 10 years of its opening, miners began to succumb to (chronic) disease—caused by dust inhalation—and a mysterious illness that was not diagnosed until 1980 by federal health officials. The disease, lung cancer, caused by massive radiation poisoning.

As a result, Allen began to install ventilation systems in 1960. But the company found itself faced with a growing health compensation bill for miners, their widows and children. These setbacks, coupled with three lengthy strikes over compensation, wages and working conditions that led to a total of 85 lost work weeks between 1979 and 1978, convinced the company in 1978 to close down the St. Lawrence operation and import lower-cost fluorapatite from Mexico.

Then, in 1984 the Newfoundland government began to look for a new operator for the St. Lawrence mine. One reason government spokesmen said that according to mining analysts worldwide demand for fluorapatite would increase considerably by 1990. In early 1984 the government granted Minworth, one of several companies that applied to administer the mine, exclusive rights to the St. Lawrence deposit—estimated to be the world's largest. Minworth officials estimated that it would cost \$14.6 million to reopen the mine, and they said that by this year the company would begin shipping the first loads of fluorapatite produced by the mine. The company also guaranteed that the shafts would be safe because of a modern ventilation system which will flush out all gas and dust. As well, officials said that the miners' health will be closely monitored through annual medical checkups.

But since the agreement was signed, the company has experienced difficulty in keeping to its schedule. By the end of March, 1984, Minworth had been unable to find a Canadian partner for the venture in order to qualify for \$7 million in grants under a provincial federal regional development program. As a result, the provincial government—with an investment of \$1.5 million—has decided to assume the role of temporary partner. And construction work on an office extension and mill buildings did not begin until last month. Company officials now say that the earliest date for ore production is late 1986.

As well, spokesmen for some orga-

nized labor groups have criticized the accord. For one thing, a meeting between company officials and the St. Lawrence town council established conditions under which the company would prefer to hire townpeople. The terms of the understanding, for the course of a three-year contract, wages would remain between \$9 and \$11 an hour—almost 40 per cent less than comparable mine wages in Ontario—and compensation would be discouraged. These terms have led to protests from the Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labor (NLF), whose president, William Parsons, said that any such agreement would contravene the Newfoundland Labor Relations Act, which specifies that all employees can join the union of their choice. Parsons told Maclean's: "We don't need the kind of corporate mentality that the government is bringing to this province. Minworth has gone down there looking like Santa Claus, and everyone is putting in their order."

As a result, Parsons is urging miners to reject the terms. Added Parsons: "I hope a Newfoundland has more sense than that. But about 300 residents have already applied for about 120 jobs which will become available when the mine begins production. And Doyle, a former Confederation of National Trade Unions organizer, says that although a labor agreement has not been officially



St. Lawrence Reopener mine. Supply

signed, Minworth should be given a chance to proceed. Doyle added that excessive labor demands could harm the company's operations. Declared the mayor, who signed as St. Lawrence's local purchasing and personnel co-ordinator in October, 1984: "I will consider myself a good union man. It's all right for people to come here and say we have to protect people in St. Lawrence, but we never heard of them when the mines closed down."

Many townspeople say that Doyle has compromised his office by becoming a Minworth employee. Had town councillor Samuel Tobin: "He has lost the credibility that he had. As mayor he was taking people's applications at the same time that he was giving Minworth guarantees. People are so desperate for work here that they would agree to anything. I think this was taking advantage of a serious situation." For his part, former miner and union activist Michael Shaney says that even desperation will not lead townspeople to accept unreasonable conditions. He added: "Over the years we have experienced quite a few situations where we held our ground. Any occurrence of unfairness and Minworth will find that people here will organize very quickly."

—FLETCHER HOPKINSON in Toronto with
PETER GARDIN in St. John's

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MUSIC

Holy rock 'n' rollers

The heavy metal rock concert began like any other. Greeted by testosterone-fueled fans crowded into Toronto's Concert Hall on Nov. 3, the four musicians who make up Strayer tossed their wildly teased hair and leaped into an electrifying service of Soldiers Under Command. But the performers' suggestive poses were just a warm-up for a more current spiritual message. The soldiers in their song are under "God's command... fighting sin." And unlike other heavy metal bands, which have thrown *Jesus* into the mix, the members of Strayer sang pocket-sized copies of the New Testament into the crowd. Yelled Michael Sweet, the group's lead vocalist: "Here's it fail to rock for God for a change!"

Strayer's raucous style of preaching is one of the most extreme examples of the new "televangelical Christian music" that is beginning to make inroads into the mainstream market. It encompasses everything from singer Amy Grant's subtle songs about loving God to the scorching lyrics of Toronto's internationally successful Daniel



Grant: Images of sin, heavenly rocking

Basil. The new strain of pop music even has a new wave wing, headed by Steve Taylor, who sings satirical tunes about televangelists. Such artists represent an important and growing sector of the music industry. In the United States, Christian rock records account for annual sales of about \$300 million, while in Canada they constitute a \$18-million enterprise. And at a time when many parents are concerned about sexually explicit, violent records and videos, Christian bands are heralded as righteous rock 'n' roll. "Rid Sweet of Los Angeles-based Strayer: 'There is a lot of garbage going on in metal with the drugs and sexual and satanic content. We have been called to make a stand for God's side.'"

Until recently, Christian rock was promoted mainly through the 1,200 all-Christian radio stations in the United States and each weekly shows on *Rock and the Hard Place* on the popular Toronto-area radio station *CFMT*. But now a few major U.S. record companies are marketing the most successful Christian artists. As a result, albums by Strayer and Nashville-based Grant, *AAA's* hottest Christian pop artist, stand beside those of such secular stars as Prince and Madonna in record stores. As well, Christian rock videos have received airplay on television music video networks and programs, in-

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clad in MuchMusic in Canada and vice in the United States. That is gratifying to young Christians who enjoy rock music but object to its profane lyrics. Said 16-year-old Michael Massimo: "I don't agree with the drugs and sex. Jesus is just rocking along in heaven as we are down here."

Of all the holy rock 'n' rollers, Grant probably has the greatest mass-market appeal because of her understated message. The 28-year-old fresh-faced singer grossed more than \$1.3 million last year from concerts. Her current album, *Unplugged*—a sequel of songs that make only a few direct references to Jesus—has gone gold in Canada (50,000 copies) and sold 700,000 copies in the United States. As well, she has won three Grammy Awards and numerous Dove—the Christian music equivalent of the Grammys. With a sound approaching that of Madonna, Grant's new single, *Find a Way*, is an ode to the power of love. *Said Grant*: "You can only be straightforward and literal (about faith) so easy ways before you become redundant."

In contrast to Grant's sobriety, the heavily metal performers preach aggressively. The songs of Daniel Bland and Chicago's Red Band (short for Reckless) frequently evoke images of sex before punning them with scripture. Typically, Bland's video *Walk on the Water* portrays a pristine female who becomes born again. Occasionally the heavy metal Christians use video images that are violent. On Strypker's new album, *Soldiers Under Command*, the band poses with pistols and submachine-guns.

Those trappings have alienated the new Christian ministers from many members of their natural constituency: fundamentalist believers. Clergymen including Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell have said that Christian rock musicians are "of the devil." Said televangelist Jimmy Swaggart, himself a successful country piano player and singer: "Does anyone really feel he can have the Holy Spirit anointing his efforts while dressed as a punk or a rebel?"

Nevertheless, some rock critics say that they doubt the ability of most holy rock crusaders to extend their appeal beyond the converted. *Said David Mankin*, the New York-based editor of the influential newsletter *Rock & Roll Confidential*: "Guitars that they are representing mainstream appeal are all hype. They are not good enough."

Christian artists will have to prove that they have talent as well as heavenly backing to make rock 'n' roll born-again.

—TERRY BERMAN AND ANN WALSHLEY in Toronto

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TELEVISION

At home with a dictator

MUSSOLINI: THE UNTOLD STORY
CTV, Nov. 21

It's *Mussolini: The Untold Story* the Italian dictator who was Hitler's ally during the Second World War receives extremely sympathetic treatment. Benito Mussolini (George C. Scott) appears as a decent family man who, in campaigning to secure the Roman Empire to its former glory, just happens to be responsible for millions of deaths. Astonishingly, the seven-hour mini-series ignores the leader's cruelty except for his rage of a journalist. The thinking behind *Mussolini*—that there is good in everyone—is dangerously wrong. Scott's whitewashing performance and Sterling Sillman's script are a painful insult to many memories.

When *Mussolini* begins, the dictator has already crushed all opposition in his Fascist regime. In an effort to appear more virile he shaves his head, and his dreams of power expand as he greedily opens the globe. But the atrocities that Mussolini committed both in Italy and during his invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 have an emotional impact. World-shattering events serve as banal background music for his family concerns. Mussolini's daughter, Edda (Mary Elizabeth Mastrantonio), repeatedly defies him in her chase of boyfriends but settles down with Count Galeazzo Ciano (Raul Julia), whose execution he will later condone. His favorite son, Bruno (Robert Downey), dies accidentally and another, Vittorio (Gabriel Byrne), acts as his father's liaison with Hitler. And his long-suffering wife, Rachel (Lise Granit), loses her lip as her husband takes a mistress, the beautiful Cigaretta Petacci (Virginia Madsen). Aside from his utter lack of historical sophistication and the elopement of the family saga, *Mussolini's* most glaring flaw is Scott's performance. He

gives no sense of the dictator's disturbing megalomania. The color-tinted archival footage from the period, interspersed during his speeches, is visually jarring. Scott bears a slight resemblance to Mussolini but he never looks mean. As well, there is nothing Mediterranean in his movements, so



Scott world-shattering events versus family concerns

expressive. Finally. Indeed, of the entire cast only Lise Granit makes a valiant attempt to adapt Italian mannerisms. When the family gathers around the piano to sing an opera aria, the collective accent is ludicrous.

At one point in the series Mussolini asks his wife, "Why do you always look at the dark side?" She replies, "There is no other side." From watching *Mussolini*, the viewer would certainly think otherwise. No one in the family ever questions dear friend Hitler's "final solution" for six million Jews. These atrocities have been put through a sieve to remove all impurities. The makers of *Mussolini* demonstrate an alarming talent for inventing one of history's most awful chapters. In its own way the series perpetuates a blasphemy.

—LINDSEY OTTOLIO

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FOR THE RECORD

Passion and oppression

VERDI DON CARLOS
Conducted by Claudio Abbado
(DG/PolyGram, five discs)

An expansive tale of love and intrigue in 18th-century Spain, *Don Carlos* includes some of Giuseppe Verdi's most arresting music. Now, in a fiery new recording, conductor Claudio Abbado demonstrates that *Don Carlos* is perhaps Verdi's most ambitious grand opera. With the help of a stellar cast, he skillfully evokes the anxiety that pervaded life in the shadow of the Inquisition and under the despotic rule of Philippe II, *Roi d'Espagne*. The celebrated tenor Plácido Domingo sings incandescently as the title role, conceiving the moment of a man who is in love with the wife of Philippe, his father Domingo's duets with soprano Katia Ricciarelli, who plays Carlos's beloved stepmother, Elisabeth, have an uncommon radiance. Ruggero Raimondi as Philippe and Nicolai Ghiaurov as Le Grand Inquisiteur are chillingly convincing as merciless tyrants. Although the orchestra is sometimes too prominent in the recording, it scarcely detracts from the overall splendor of an impressive performance.

GLASS SATYAGRAHA
Conducted by Christopher YOUNG
(CBS Masterworks, three discs)

Philip Glass's serene but static opera *Satyagraha* focuses on Mahatma K. Gandhi's nonviolent struggle against the oppression of Indians in South Africa. Composed in 1980, the work is a meditative statement of spiritual goals with a libretto in Sanskrit based on maxims from *The Bhagavad-Gita*, the sacred book of the Hindu religion. Although it lacks the firestorm of cinematic power as well as the still-thunderous voice of Douglas Penty as Gandhi, the first recording of *Satyagraha* reveals a composition that will be engagingly hypnotic for some but mind-numbing for others. The composer has created melodies of disarming simplicity and beauty, but he repeats them incessantly, varying only the timbre and underlying rhythms. Glass's revolutionary use of Indian and African models is provocative, but the tedious results suggest that his compositions will not redirect the course of Western music.

—JOHN FENNER

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MEDICINE

Restoring the balance

In Sanskrit the word *ayurveda* means "the science of life." And in January the ancient Indian system of medicine will officially arrive in Canada when the Maharishi Ayurveda Prevention Centre opens in Ottawa. Part of a campaign by the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, who gained worldwide fame for popularizing transcendental meditation in the late 1960s and 1970s among such luminaries as the Beatles, the Ottawa centre will be the first of 50 planned throughout the world. Ottawa centre director Dr. Ross Nickerson, 38, a graduate of the University of Saskatchewan medical school and a 13-year practitioner of transcendental meditation, says "Ayurveda's truths are beginning to be proved in terms of the Western scientific model. Here it will very much be a mixing with Western medicine."

Ayurvedic doctors base their treatment on the belief that all diseases are related to an imbalance of the basic elements of human physiology called doshas—movement, metabolism and structure. To keep doshas in balance, ayurvedic preventive therapy uses nutritional supplements, herbal oil massages, herbalized heat treatment and establishes regular schedules for reading, healthy waste. Recommended—but not required—is daily transcendental meditation. In India, where more than 250,000 doctors are registered to practice ayurveda, admission prerequisites to ayurvedic schools are the same as for students of modern medicine. And the length of study is also similar: two years of undergraduate study followed by three years of postgraduate specialization.

Ayurvedic doctors say they can prevent almost any malady. As a result, the Canadian centre will primarily provide preventive care programs and not curative work. Western medicine is the treatment of sick patients. Ross Nickerson: "To use such a treatment in North America you have to document scientifically that it is legitimate. That will take more time." Nickerson, who received ayurvedic training at the Maharishi International University in Fairfield, Iowa, will initially put all his patients through a conventional medical checkup. Only if they have no serious complaints—which would be treated with Western medicine—will he administer ayurvedic treatments with the assistance of a specialist from India.

Since January, 1984, some ayurvedic centres have been established in coun-

tries including the United States and France. More than 300 scientific tests have been conducted on ayurvedic techniques at such institutions as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, Mass. Among other things, scientists have found that over an eight-month period ayurveda can reduce the

biological age of patients by four years. Patients have also reported such benefits as increased energy, improved sleep and better appetite. And the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario has not objected to the Ottawa centre. Said college spokesman Jeph Ross: "This treatment is based on herbs and is not harmful to the patient. The physician has the responsibility of telling the patients what the conventional treatment would be. It is then up to them to decide which alternative they prefer."

—MICHAEL CLANDIN in Ottawa

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TABLE 1. *Continued*

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In appendix 1 of the report, information on the respondents

14. <i>Chlorophyll</i>	15. <i>Photosynthesis</i>	16. <i>Respiration</i>
17. <i>Chloroplast</i>	18. <i>Stomata</i>	19. <i>Transpiration</i>

Reprints: _____ David Curtis _____

DOI: 10.1002/anie.200525000

RELIGION

In the past religious and political officials who opposed withdra^{ft} were harassed or drove out of practice^{ns}. But now some U.S. politicians are taking a different approach—they are using a different tactic. They are calling voters, of their tax-payer statu^{es}. To that end, North Carolina Republican Senator Jesse Helms, who declared that "puls and withdra^{ft} are the same thing," introduced legislation in the Senate on Sept. 26 that it was dra^{ft}ed for technical reasons. Now, Pennsylvania Republican Congressman Robert J. D'Amico, who has introduced legislation which he wants to have attached to upcoming tax reform legislation, has critics strongly object to the legisla^{ti}on. Sen. Ambr^{se} K., a former first official of the U.S. Department of the Government of the Goddess, which represents about 70 U.S. withdra^{ft} status and itself enjoys withdra^{ft} status. "This is a throwback to the Middle Ages, when witch^{es} and heretics were burned," he said.

Withdas say that losing tax exemption would have little financial impact on most groups. But they oppose antitax efforts on principle and they are supported in their arguments by the American Civil Liberties Union. Said union legislative counsel Barry Lynn, "You cannot take a legislative group like tax exemption and make it dependent on the popularity of the deity whom somebody worships."

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A lion in the limelight

FINAL OFFER
(Oct. Nov. 18)

During the summer of 1984 the Canadian division of the United Auto Workers became embroiled in bitter contract talks which changed the face of the domestic automotive industry. The union and General Motors of Canada Ltd. met for three grueling months in Toronto's Royal York Hotel, but their failure to reach a settlement led to a 13-day strike. Meanwhile, the documents created a rift within the UAW, leading to the Canadian membership's historic breakaway from the huge United States-based union last December. As the contract negotiations progressed in smoky meeting rooms, a National Film Board crew recorded the personality clashes and backroom wrangling. The result, *Final Offer*, provides an extraordinarily intimate glimpse of union politics. Even more dramatically, the film casts a rare spotlight on Canadian UAW leader Robert White, a potent populist who may well be the

most charismatic figure to appear on the national scene in recent years.

White and his UAW colleagues showed considerable courage in allow-



White leadership

ing director Sturis Ganssman to film them during their toughest bargaining. The American notion of the UAW had just concluded contract talks with GM by surrendering its customary annual wage increase in exchange for job security. But with the automobile industry operating at full employment in Canada, White and his membership saw no reason for such a sacrifice. Still, White's American boss, UAW president Owen Bieber, pressed the Canadian wing to accept a settlement similar to the one reached in the United States. Bieber was concerned that a Canadian strike would deprive some American plants

of needed parts. With an illegal wildcat walkout at GM's Oshawa plant, White was under enormous pressure.

Final Offer derives considerable power from its intensive scrutiny of the beset White. The film-makers focus closely on his harried face, capturing his chilling silence as he accepts phone calls from the worried Bieber. White emerges as a man of galvanizing leadership who is able to lessen the most strained circumstances with a witty remark.

Final Offer also looks broadly and sympathetically at the union's rank and file. Through footage of GM's Oshawa plant, the film provides a first-hand impression of the rigors of life on the assembly line. More impressively, it brings a sense of throbbing suspense to the negotiations. With its focus on White's fighting spirit, *Final Offer* makes it easy to understand why the UAW leader was able to defy head office—and why the strike that he led against GM was triumphant.

—JOHN REMBOISE

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Dancing down the road to freedom



Baryshnikov, Mullova romantic strangers plotting in a strange homeland

WHITE NIGHTS
Directed by Taylor Hackford

White Nights opens sensationally with Mikhail Baryshnikov dancing Irina Mullova's intense consideration of suicide. *Le Dernier Homme* or *is Mort*. After the dramatic performance the camera pulls back to reveal the spellbinding London audience as Baryshnikov's character, Mikhail (Kolya) Radchenko, takes his bow. Kolya, like Baryshnikov himself, is perhaps the world's greatest dancer, a Russian defector who has found so much fame as he has shelter in the West. But on the way to his next engagement in Japan, his plane goes down over Siberia in one of the most hair-raising crashes ever filmed. Paralyzed, Kolya tries to destroy his identity papers and is severely hurt while doing so. Recovering in a Siberian army hospital, his worst fears are confirmed: the Soviets have discovered his papers.

Blatantly anti-Soviet, *White Nights* is still one of the most superbly crafted movies to come out of Hollywood in a long time. The film is as gripping as it is old-fashioned. The Soviets, espoused by the cunning Col. Chazko (Jerry Shodorovich), pretend that Kolya is too ill to be spared from Siberia. Their plan is to convince him to dance at the Kirov Ballet in Leningrad, making it appear that he has changed his political affiliation. To that end, Chazko coerces a black-

American defector, Raymond Greenwood (Gregory Hlaim), to take Kolya into his home. Raymond, who is a tap dancer, has married a Russian, Darya (Isabella Rossellini). He occasionally performs at the army base and consumes plenty of vodka.

The two men are immediately at odds. Neither can understand the other's defection. In a bravura sequence the drunken Raymond tells Kolya his history, punctuating his story with tap dancing. *Break With America*, as well as a fondling witness to the horrors of Vietnam, made him turn from his own country. In Kolya's case, he has already been tried as a criminal and sentenced to his absence to 15 years in prison. For that reason, he has no choice but to go to Leningrad and pretend that he will perform at the Kirov. Meanwhile, he plans an escape to the safety of the U.S. Embassy, enlisting the help of his former lover, Galina Ivanova (Irene Mullova), an official at the Kirov whom he left behind when he defected. Although better, she still loves him.

The script integrates dance into the thriller mechanism so deftly that it becomes a metaphor for freedom. In Leningrad, Kolya and Raymond discover that for all their differences they share a passion for dance. The men's odds and their perilous fate are in prospect as they feed, rather than set pieces divorced from the action. And the story has a touching resonance because it parallels

Baryshnikov's own history. When Kolya stands on the darkened Kirov with a tear rolling down his cheek, it is almost impossible to separate the movie from the reality of Baryshnikov's life. Like Kolya, he can never go home again.

From its brilliant opening scenes to the climax outside the U.S. Embassy, director Taylor Hackford (*An Officer and a Gentleman*) gives *White Nights* a pulse and a heart. In addition to the powerful performances by Baryshnikov and Mullova, Hackford has drawn sterling portrayals from the rest of the cast. Shodorovich is unsettling as the bogoted Chazko, a man whose charming veneer is a cover for absolute ruthlessness. Mullova is touching as the brave ex-hellion trapped by her own confining emotions. And Rossellini, who bears a strong resemblance to her mother, Ingrid Bergman, is a nostalgic presence. The Soviets in *White Nights* live in a world of surrealism where their roots are constantly thwarting their desire for individuality. The movie is single-minded in its perception of Soviet life: even the school for young ballerinas is a nest of vipers. As propaganda, the movie is overdone. But in *White Nights* the heart speaks so eloquently that it seems indisputable for the mind to object.

—LAWRENCE OTOOLE

MALEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *Texas, My Home* (L)
- 2 *The Windmiller's Tale, Alcohol* (D)
- 3 *The Museum's Hysteria, And* (D)
- 4 *Lucky, Culture* (D)
- 5 *Shannon Creek, King* (L)
- 6 *The Red Fox, Nyle* (L)
- 7 *Secrets, Steel* (L)
- 8 *Contact, Super*
- 9 *What's Bred in the Bone, Dances* (D)
- 10 *Break in, France*

Nonfiction

- 1 *Struggle from the Heart, Christmas* (L)
- 2 *Company of Adventurers, Arts* (L)
- 3 *Kyle and Me, Preaching with Hermies* (D)
- 4 *Incense, America with Me* (L)
- 5 *Dancing in the Light, Madonna* (L)
- 6 *Yours, Tracer and Jesus* (L)
- 7 *The World of Robert Bateman, Jerry* (D)
- 8 *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (L)
- 9 *I Never Played the Game, David* (L)
- 10 *A Day in the Life of Canada, Edited by Cohen* (L)

1: Periodical best seller

Disney's

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WALT DISNEY PICTURES PRESENTS "ONE MAGIC CHRISTMAS"

A PETER OTTOBIN PRODUCTION A PETER OTTOBIN FILM

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Music by JEFFREY BRIDGES, Lyrics by JEFFREY BRIDGES, Music by JEFFREY BRIDGES, Lyrics by JEFFREY BRIDGES, Music by JEFFREY BRIDGES, Lyrics by JEFFREY BRIDGES

Produced by PETER OTTOBIN, Directed by PETER OTTOBIN, Screenplay by PETER OTTOBIN, Story by PETER OTTOBIN, Music by JEFFREY BRIDGES, Lyrics by JEFFREY BRIDGES, Music by JEFFREY BRIDGES, Lyrics by JEFFREY BRIDGES

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Getting it straight from jail

By Allan Fotheringham

The well-known murderer Colin Thatcher is an Alberta slammer but he is still making news. Not only is he probably the highest-ranking Canadian politician ever to go to jail, but he is possibly the richest man to go to jail for murdering his wife—a verdict that he is now appealing. Rich men, the law being the law, usually do not end up in jail—if you want to check the records. But Thatcher, quite the most unexpected piece of bourgeois to cross our headlines in some time, still manages to get his revenge on someone. Writing in longhand on his yellow legal pads, he has produced a book that succeeds in averaging his onetime cabinet colleagues.

This takes some doing, coming from a political turncoat who leaped from the Liberals to the Tories, turned his own children into courtroom saga and then engineering the kidnapping and shooting of his wife, but his revelations are such a hot seller in his home province that they threaten to wipe out the three (I) other books written on the murder and the trial in his book.

Thatcher depicts Premier Grant Devine as a vacillating wimpster, Attorney General Gerry McInnis as a traitor who once plotted to overthrow Devine and another cabinet minister as a foul-mouthed drunk.

Now this is heavy stuff, but at least Thatcher is straightforward. This is the man, after all, who used to have a sign posted in his legislative office saying "Are you into a change in some? Would you like new vistas, new horizons? Are you tired of your workmate? Just screw up one more time." Thatcher, who has nothing to lose, lays it on the line in his book, even revealing how he found a Liberal party chub land of some \$800,000 hidden in the home of his dead father, former premier Ross Thatcher. The immediate question that arises is simple: do we have to put politicians in jail before we can get the truth out of them?

Ross Thatcher, currently wearing out

Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.

his hairpoint on his back-fogging tour, boasts that he is about the only politician who has written a book in mid-career—not waiting until retirement to shoot at his old enemies once safely behind the barricades. Yes, but he doesn't say anything. The book's most exciting revelation is that when defeated in the leadership vote by John Turner, he is gloated by Turner's people for a conciliatory conversation and has to wait 20 minutes on the line before Turner comes on. Christie says it was probably an accident. Sure. That's what you say in a mid-career book.



Unfortunately, he does not retell the incident in which, as a raw and nervous young cabinet minister, he sat beside Pierre Trudeau as a long plane trip, Christie in the window seat, Trudeau as the aisle. The aloof Trudeau studied his briefing books throughout, not uttering a word. There was a pause on the aisle, and Christie, attempting to break the ice, remarked, "It's raining outside." Trudeau, not moving his eyes from his papers, said, "If it's raining, it has to be outside." The mortified Christie finished the trip in silence.

Wouldn't it be neat to find out what Joe Clark really thinks about Brian Mulroney? Or what Mulroney really thinks about Bob Coates? For that matter, what Coates really thinks of that executive assistant who introduced him to some interesting spots around the world? We now know what Donald Fleming, the Chief of the Foreign Minister, thinks of Peter Newman via his response to Newman's review of

Fleming's tedious memoirs ("Very New is very hard to pick up, once you've put it down"). But Fleming is in retirement, far from the firing line, and Newman, still in the firing line, has lots of bullets left.

That's the key: you want to have the last shot. Those of us who are secret admirers of Dalton Camp's languorous prose have been needing him for years to come through with the once-praised second volume to his very last book, *Gravestone, Pipers and Politicians*, about his political life. The suspicion always was that he was waiting for Diefenbaker to finish off his final potshots at Camp, then come through as the clean-up hitter. Well, Dief is long gone, and we're still waiting for the Camp memoirs to come on, Dalton—to the word processor.

One of the disappointments of Canadian political life is how few of the treasures are precious with the pen. It is standard and accepted practice in Britain for leading politicians to be accomplished journalists, book reviewers, columnists and biographers. Michael Foot, the devout socialist and onetime leader of Britain's Labour Party, for years was editor of Lord Beaverbrook's linguistic Daily Express. Gary Harte, the once and future Democratic presidential hopeful, has just co-authored a thriller with a Republican congressman and rival.

Quite the most skillful wordcrafter in Western Canadian journalism a few years back was Paul St. Pierre of the Vancouver Sun, a marvellous storyteller. In the early Trudeau years he astonished us all by becoming a Liberal MP for a few years—and parliamentary secretary to then-internal affairs minister Mitchell Sharp. The assumption was that it was a simple and understandable run so he could garner enough experience sitting in the House of Commons to come up with a devastating satire on the joint. We are still waiting for the definitive result.

Almost no one in Canadian politics can write in readable English. Come on, you guys. Won't somebody tell the truth?



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